The Woman of Playboy, Interviewed

reason

Free Minds and Free Markets

June 1986/$2.00

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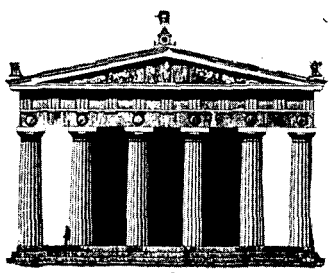

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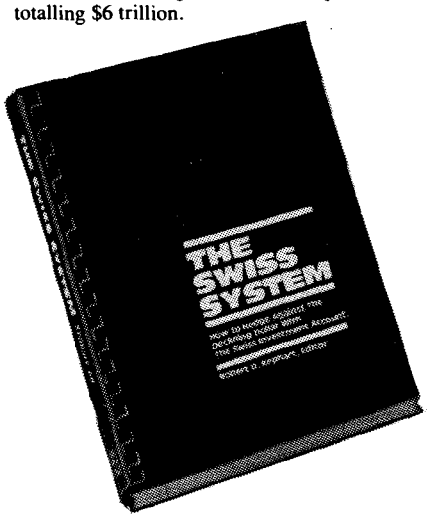
WHY EVERY PRUDENT AMERICAN SHOULD KEEP SOME MONEY IN SWITZERLAND

Dear Fellow American:

Can there be any doubt that we are living in the eye of a hurricane? Consider the fragile condition of the U.S. banking system, now hostage to the whims of third-world debtor nations. The escalating U.S. budget deficits. U.S. trade balances now at historic highs. Public and private debt totalling $6 trillion.



You cannot afford to ignore these storm clouds. And you surely cannot afford to have all of your assets inside the U.S. when the storm finally hits. Why? Because, when the crisis arrives, the government will impose controls to keep your wealth in the U.S. and then will inflate, tax and possibly confiscate it in response.

That is why geographical diversification of some of your assets *now* — before exchange controls make it impossible — may be the most important survival step you will ever take.

My name is Robert Kephart and for eight years I conducted seminars in Zurich for Americans just like you. Men and women who realize that to hold all their eggs in the U.S. basket is to flirt with disaster. In Zurich they met a handful of carefully selected Swiss — bankers, financial advisors, investment managers — who helped them quietly, confidentially create their nest egg in the world's safest money haven.

I no longer produce these seminars. But the actual program presentations have been transcribed and bound in a 211 page report called **THE SWISS SYSTEM.**

THE SWISS SYSTEM will help you enter the world of Swiss banking just as so many tens of thousands of prudent Americans have before you. It will show you how to maintain your investments *confidentially*, far from Washington's prying eyes. And not just investments within Switzerland. You will discover that you can use a Swiss account to invest in every market in the world. You will discover Swiss-managed investment funds. Cost-averaged gold and silver investment plans. Insurance and annuity policies in stable Swiss francs.

Yes, **THE SWISS SYSTEM** is far more than just another book — it's a comprehensive *Special Report*, containing *every vital element* you would have learned at one of my seminars in *Switzerland*.

Let me give you a few more examples of the useful and fascinating material you'll find in your copy of **THE SWISS SYSTEM:**

- How to move funds to and from Switzerland — confidentially.
- Swiss bank secrecy — how it protects you.
- How to open your first Swiss bank account.
- What is the famous Swiss numbered account?
- What is legal? What isn't.
- Why Swiss banks are called "financial supermarkets."
- How to retire on annuity income from Switzerland.
- Should a Swiss bank manage your stock and bond portfolio?
- Managed funds in Switzerland.
- Swiss gold and silver investment plans — free of Swiss taxes, and securely stored in Zurich.
- Should you consider Swiss real estate and Swiss residency?
- What if exchange controls are imposed — what happens to your Swiss accounts?
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In **THE SWISS SYSTEM,** you'll find all the answers and more discussed in exhaustive detail and accompanied by dozens of helpful charts to give you a clear picture of world investment trends. You will find sample Swiss banking agreements translated into plain English.

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WHAT ABOUT SWISS BANK SECRECY?

In Switzerland, Orwell's 1984 still seems pleasantly remote. Bankers there don't copy your checks for the government. They don't open records for casual inspection.

On the contrary, Swiss law demands absolute secrecy in banking and investments and sternly punishes any Swiss who betrays a client's trust. *No one* can violate the privacy of your Swiss account — not the U.S. government — *not even the Swiss government.*

Legend has it that Swiss vaults are lined with the loot of criminals and dictators and the profits of drug dealers. Such tales are surely exaggerated because the Swiss will not knowingly deal with such people. But *who knows?* Swiss bank accounts are, after all, absolutely secret.

The fact is, the overwhelming majority of Swiss bank clients are *honest*, law-abiding citizens like you and me. What sets them apart is that they have discovered the *safest possible haven* for their offshore nest egg—and some of the most fertile investment possibilities the world has to offer.

NINE INTERNATIONAL EXPERTS SHOW YOU THE WAY

SIEGFRIED HERZOG: Using your Swiss bank account for privacy and profit.
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Reason continues the tradition

of offering a clear perspective on investing to a committed audience of free-market readers.

This year's special double financial issue

(August-September) will cover coins, stocks, gold, real estate, and much, much more. Plans are to include controversial opinions and practical advice from leading investment writers Richard Band, Doug Casey, Adrian Day, Gary North, and others.

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CLOSING DATES:
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Camera-ready copy due by May 23

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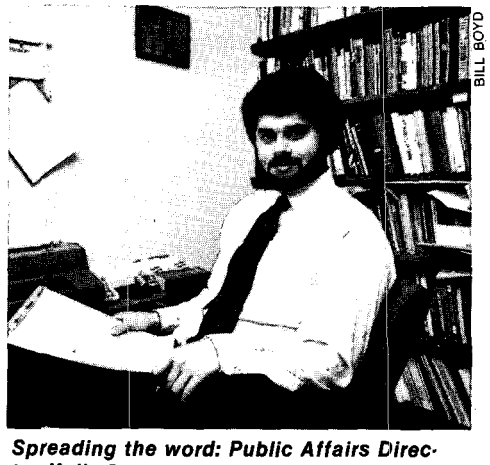
up front

Getting the Word Out

Every magazine has a mission. Ours is to explore, defend, and celebrate the central value of a free society, individual liberty. And because we are, after all, a journal of opinion, we also seek to affect the intellectual and political climate of the nation—to bring our "prejudice of freedom" into the mainstream debate on the day's issues.



BILL BOYD

Spreading the word: Public Affairs Director Kelly Ross

This last job falls mainly to Kelly Ross, REASON's director of public affairs. "It's quite enjoyable being in public relations at REASON," says Ross, "because it presents a truly unique product, unlike anything else put out by other organizations or publications. REASON authors turn issues over to look at the other side of things, to give readers a perspective different from what they get elsewhere."

A lot of behind-the-scenes effort goes into bringing that unique perspective to the attention of the world at large. Much of it is directed at getting the word out to the media. Shortly before the release of each issue of the magazine, Ross meets with Publisher Robert Poole, Jr. and Editor-in-Chief Marty Zupan to devise a strategy to promote that issue to the press. The main publicity tools are news releases, op-ed versions of articles from the issue, and mailings and phone calls to TV and radio talk shows to promote REASON authors as guests.

Trying to get the media's attention, however, is more an art than a science, and the results are never certain. "It's always unpredictable," says Ross. "We may think we have the news story of the month and no one will pick it up, while an item that we think is relatively minor will draw all sorts of attention."

Overall, Ross's efforts to publicize the magazine and its writers have been impressive. In 1984, for instance, before the magazine had a public affairs director, REASON authors were invited onto radio talk shows just 12 times; in 1985, Ross's first year with the magazine, REASON contributors served 114 times as talk-show guests. And in 1986, the pace of such appearances exceeds that of last year. In the print media, REASON op-eds were picked up 70 times in 1985, appearing in newspapers ranging in size from Brookings, Oregon's *Curry Coastal Pilot* (circulation: 9,000) to the *Wall Street Journal*, the nation's largest national daily (circulation: 2.1 million), and thus reached a total audience of more than 11 million readers.

For a small magazine like REASON to get that kind of coverage is especially difficult. "The competition for media attention is so great," explains Ross. "Everyone wants it, from the eccentric inventor trying to publicize his latest creation to Fortune 500 PR people cranking out press releases, plus all the other think tanks who are trying to get their views aired too."

So why have REASON's publicity efforts been so successful of late? It's not so much that the magazine's concerns have changed, Ross answers, but that peoples' ideas and attitudes have significantly changed. "In the past," Ross says, "the ideas presented in REASON were considered 'fringe'—privatization, deregulation, legalization of victimless crimes, noninterventionism in foreign disputes. Now, however, those same ideas are being taken seriously by a growing segment of the American population, especially among the baby-boom generation."

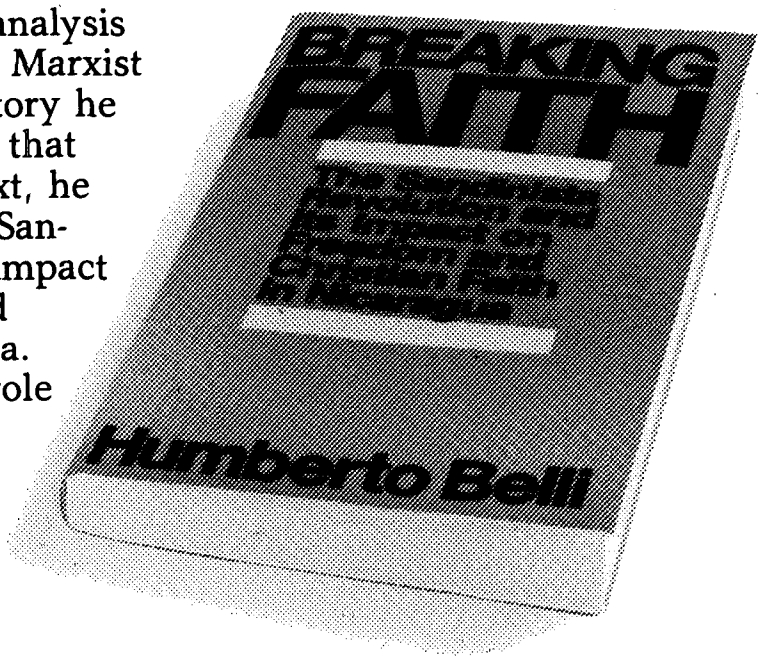
If Ross is right—and we think he is—then the magazine that takes individual liberty seriously is coming into its own. Pass it on. ***—Eric Martí***

NICARAGUA: An Inside Look

WHO ARE THE SANDINISTAS? How did they come to power? How are they reshaping Nicaraguan life? What positions have Christians taken toward the revolution, and where have these positions led?

Humberto Belli, a native Nicaraguan, lawyer and sociologist, is eminently qualified to take on these controversial questions. An active member of the Sandinista front until 1975, he was later editorial page editor of the independent newspaper *La Prensa.*

In **Breaking Faith,** Belli's analysis begins with a small band of Marxist guerrillas whose stormy history he traces through the civil war that brought them to power. Next, he considers the course of the Sandinista government and its impact on democratic freedoms and religious liberty in Nicaragua. Finally, Belli discusses the role of Christians in the revolutionary process and the striking consequences of a Marxist-Christian alliance.



"**Breaking Faith** is a powerful, judicious and meticulously documented study...of the regime in Nicaragua. It is an exceptionally informative and comprehensive book, probably the definitive work on the Sandinistas."

Paul Hollander
author, Political Pilgrims

"The reasoning is clear, the documentation is ample, the conclusion is compelling. North Americans simply must attend to Humberto Belli's argument."

Richard John Neuhaus
Director, Center on Religion & Society

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Washington, D.C. 20005

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( ) My check for $____ is enclosed.

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RE1

letters

Porn in the USA

I want you to know that I object strongly to the overall emphasis of your article on pornography ("Reagan's Smutstompers," April). Your criticism of the methods used by Regnery, Reisman, et al. to combat pornography may be justified to some extent. The same can be said about almost any government-appointed commission. However, your apparent approval of pornography as such is what I object to. I think the harm and crime associated with pornography is obvious. You can quote researchers to the contrary, but we know one can find researchers whose findings will back up almost any cause one promotes.

You say you do not defend rape and child abuse, yet these are definitely encouraged by free expression of pornographic material. So, to quote our President: "It's time to stop pretending that extreme pornography is a victimless crime." Let's put some control over the liberals' desires to print anything and everything.

Emerson L. Ogborn
Southern Pines, NC

Free Minds, Free Markets, But No Free Love!

I would like to cancel my subscription to REASON. I cherish the concepts of free markets and free minds, but I didn't know that "free minds" meant without responsibility.

John Kabitzke
Slater, IA

Pandering to Perverts

I just received your April issue. Apparently your magazine prefers license to *reason*ed restraint. Your support of pornography counts me out. I will leave you to pander to others who, like yourselves, exercise poor judgment. One final note: your cover was at best in poor taste. I don't know to what country or organization your staff holds allegiance, but I resent you using *my* flag to illustrate your porno views. Cancel my subscription immediately.

Patrick Hagans
Stafford, VA

Sadism, Masochism, and the First Amendment

I have not felt so at home with a magazine since I picked up my first copy of *National Review* nearly 20 years ago. Congratulations. You have another satisfied customer.

I greatly enjoyed the article on the war on porn. I am afraid that I share the views of Justice Douglas and Justice Black, among others. If one person can print it, another has a right to read it. That is the rock-bottom guarantee of the First Amendment. It seemed at times as though your article faltered a bit, however. While violent porn is abhorrent to me, it too must enjoy full protection. Market and education are the only delimiters that can or should be employed. If someone wants to buy it, it will be available. If education could fill the gap that porn does now, it would fall of its own weight. There seemed to be times in your article that could be construed as the opening of the way for the advocates of censorship. Unfortunately, violent porn must enjoy full protection, just as nonviolent porn must.

Marty Williams
Sedalia, MO

Thanks. We Needed That

Believe it or not, as Ripley would say, I refuse to cancel my subscription despite the name-calling, contradictions, and innuendo employed by Martin Morse Wooster in his April article, "Reagan's Smutstompers." The title itself would be worthy of authorship by the late Senator Joe McCarthy, but Mr. Wooster's copy makes poor old Joe look

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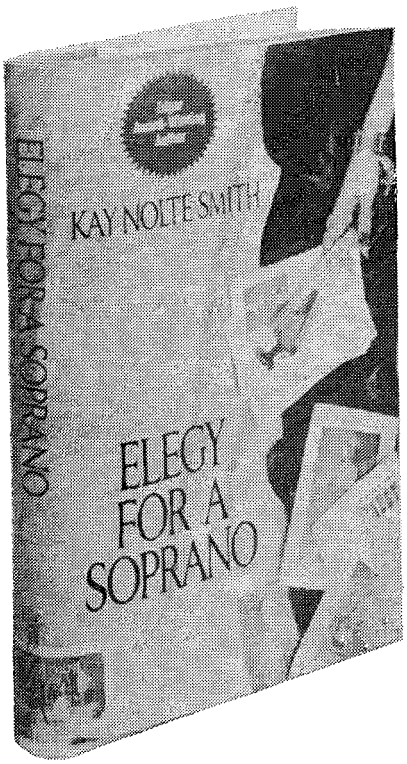

The Tyranny of Genius

Who is Vardis Wolf?

She is a genius who dominates everyone around her. Of her inner circle she demands absolute loyalty, no matter what the cost. She is worshipped internationally. The *New York Times* calls her "a Callas-like diva." Others insist she is based on Maria Montessori, while still others are certain she is a thinly-disguised Ayn Rand. Who *is* Vardis Wolf?

"The voice was like jets of molten silver, arcing and shining above the orchestra. The eyes were half-closed, and the face was lifted in esctasy, so that the dark hair hung below the woman's shoulders. There was a streak of white at her left temple, like a dagger pointing backwards."

Vardis Wolf is an internationally-acclaimed soprano. She is so charismatic that people seem to forgive her anything: the personal power she seems to crave over those closest to her, her cruelty, and worse.

Vardis Wolf is the protagonist of Kay Nolte Smith's latest novel, ***ELEGY FOR A SOPRANO.***

We see her first on stage, at a brilliant concert that is the climax of a phenomenal career, then at home, surrounded by an intense group of friends whose lives center around her. It is a fateful night, the night Vardis Wolf dies in terrible agony, the victim of poison.

Was she murdered, or was she the accidental victim of a Tylenol-style killer? When her husband confesses, the case seems wrapped up. But within 72 hours, three of her closest friends independently confess their guilt, and the case unravels completely.

Why does each of them confess to killing Vardis? What role did this woman play in their lives? What is the secret of Vardis Wolf's hold on people, and their intense emotional ties to her?

These are the elements of a story you will find absolutely riveting, an exploration of the tyranny of genius.

From Kay Nolte Smith:

"Interviewers have asked me whether Vardis Wolf is any one of a number of people, including Maria Callas and Isak Dinesen. Privately, people have told me she reminds them of still others, including Judy Garland and Ayn Rand. My response is that she is not literally anyone. I don't write romans a clef. She is my fictional interpretation of a syndrome that exists more widely than we might imagine: the cruel egocentric genius."

The Reviewers Said:

"Extraordinary... a gripping story of human greatness and its perversion... that forces the reader to confront his own response to greatness."

—Robert James Bidinotto, The Boston Herald.

"Here is a mystery novel that draws the unsuspecting reader into the story and then won't let go....In short, it's a grabber." ***—Pittsburgh Press.***

"Smith is both a passionate writer and a writer of passion."

—San Diego Tribune.

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like an emaciated, bumbling piker, which he certainly was not.

I am a recent subscriber to REASON, and with each successive issue I'm thankful I stumbled across the publication in, of all places, a laundromat. My rationale is quite simple. REASON represents an approach which is almost impossible to duplicate in this age of thoroughly ideologized media.

Your editors seem to realize that most of us, despite being intellectually less well-endowed than most media people, are quite capable of arriving at reasonably sound conclusions if we are presented with varying opinions and factual information on subjects which are critical to a healthy Republic.

Congratulations from a conservative who understands and appreciates Mr. Wooster's point of view but finds his methodology distasteful.

J. M. Bone
Waukee, IA

Ivy Dissidents Alive and Kicking

I was most interested in Lucy Braun's "God and Woman at Yale" (April). Her characterization of the situation at Yale is generally accurate. During my five years of teaching there, many students told me of incidents in which they or their classmates were ridiculed for their ideas. As Ms. Braun correctly notes, the most infuriating thing about Yale is not so much the content of the dominant opinion but the fact that so many people have such a low regard for the value of open discussion of ideas.

Having said all this, however, I must add that I was disappointed that Ms. Braun painted the situation with such a broad brush. For instance, I was privileged to be associated with a number of students and faculty who cared very deeply about ideas and who were willing to be engaged in discussion. These students certainly seemed to feel free to express their views, judging from the freewheeling conversations which often took place in my classes. And these students were always respectful of each other's ideas.

Besides giving a more balanced account of life at Yale, inclusion of these exceptions would have strengthened Ms. Braun's argument. There were people who valued ideas and discussion at Yale. The fact that they were exceptions rather than the rule is as serious an indictment as any that could be made.

Jennifer Roback
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

Yale Locks Out Dissent

My compliments to Lucy Braun. I see that since Paul Samuelson's textbook afflicted my libertarian sensibilities in the early 1960s, Yale's approach to economics has hardly changed. How boring for Yale.

Point for point my experience at Yale was similar to Braun's, except only that she seems to have handled the "insult for argument" routine better than I did.

David Keeler
Goleta, CA

What Would Churchill Know About Unsordid Acts?

In Tyler Cowen's otherwise good piece on the truth about the Marshall Plan ("The Great Twentieth-Century Foreign-Aid Hoax," April), an error has crept in. Churchill was not referring to the Marshall Plan when he made his comment about "the most unsordid act in the history of any nation," but rather the Lend-Lease Act, enacted in 1941.

Bruce Bartlett
Alexandria, VA

Under the Hammer, Under the Sickle, Under the Stars and Stripes

"The Sun Never Sets on the Russian Empire" (Trends, April), but the American Empire is in the same ballpark. You pointed out that with military and economic aid, trade subsidies, export credits, etc., the Soviets are spending seven percent of their GNP on empire building.

The USSR has their satellite states and their Third-World client states. So does the United States. We have Japan and West Germany as military welfare clients, who should now be allowed (demanded?) to defend themselves. World War II was over 40 years ago. We have Israel and Egypt, both of whom are given multibillion-dollar incentives by the United States to be amiable.

There is not a continent on this earth, Antarctica included, where the United States doesn't have a military presence and provide economic aid.

The smaller nations are smart to be distrustful of the major superpowers. They don't really care whether they're absorbed by a Russian bear or an American eagle.

Gerry Walsh
Roselle, IL

The Battle for Men's Minds

Your recent criticism of the National Endowment for Democracy ("The Neocons' Newest Con," March) doesn't address several important points. For those of us who have lived overseas many years, we have looked in vain for some US effort to counter the billions spent on propaganda and subversion by Marxists. Most of us have seen case after case where even a few thousand dollars could have prevented a major victory for the Soviets. I often have seen local anticommunist groups and publications literally starved for funds and moral support while leftists get almost unlimited resources from the worldwide left (including US leftists). The local wealthy are often unwilling, unable, or with justifiable fear of assassination or kidnapping if they openly support anticommunist movements.

Your writer argued of the risk that some future leftist administration in Washington might use the NED to promote foreign leftists. This would be very unlikely. The AFL-CIO's foreign department, which disburses 25 percent of the funds, has been solidly anticommunist since the 1940s. Indeed, we have far more examples of businessmen selling out to the Soviets than of American labor (except for the far-left National Education Association). The US Chamber of Commerce foreign department controls other parts of the funds and is also doing a fine job in many cases of which I am aware.

As far as spending funds in Western Europe, I would point out that the Voice of America has also now started aiming broadcasts there. Western Europeans have been major underwriters of the Sandinistas and other Third World Marx-

letters

ists. For example, Norway's largest recipient for foreign aid is now the Sandinistas. And European youth are inundated with leftist ideology.

The world out there is a rough place. The Soviets spend billions trying to subvert often unstable, insecure nations. America just can't close its eyes and pretend we live in a different kind of world. The National Endowment for Democracy is an attempt to fight back and defend free-world interests.

Jon Basil Utley
The Times of the Americas
Washington, DC

Our Kind of Guy!

I want to express how much I've enjoyed my first two issues of REASON. From time to time I sign up for new publications, but rarely do the feature articles sustain keen interest, as yours have. In February's issue I particularly enjoyed the presentations on Eldridge Cleaver and industrial policy in Japan; the latter had some clearly defective analogies, which surprised me, but overall value was still there. In March the even-handed, nonsensationalizing essay about Managua was excellent; the pointed review of specious reasoning where safe driving is concerned in "All Revved Up and No Place to Go" was superior; the interview with Mr. Buthelezi was informative and left me admiring the man's integrity and solid values.

Finally, who would ever imagine that an essay on the subject of American country music ("Getting Back to the Country"), where the themes of jilted lovers, marital cheats, and drunken cowboys prevail, would successfully link such music with fully American personality traits that have shaped our land? Three cheers to Bill Kauffman, who so correctly emphasizes that what is wonderful and good in America springs from the hearts of individual citizens, not from our government.

You're doing a commendable job; the ideas in your publication are invigorating. REASON is welcome in my home!

Mark H. Lowe
Provo, UT

Communicate with REASON, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93140. We appreciate receiving your letters typed double-space and limited to 200 words. Letters sent to REASON will be considered for publication (unless otherwise noted) and may be subject to abridgement or editorial comment.

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For Safer Skies, Privatize

Robert W. Poole, Jr.

All of a sudden, airline safety is front-page news. The *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *Business Week*, and other major media have all featured stories on the subject recently. The message of these articles—implicit or explicit—is that airline deregulation has led to serious safety problems.

This claim is spurious, as airline pilot John Doherty points out in his review of *Blind Trust* in this issue (page 48). Statistically, flying is safer now than before deregulation, especially on commuter lines. And yet, there are clouds on the horizon.

Air traffic has increased dramatically since deregulation in 1978 opened the doors to new entrants and price competition. The number of commercial aircraft in service, the number of airlines, revenue passenger miles—all are way up. At fast-growing hubs, air traffic has grown by 25-50 percent.

And the government-run Air Traffic Control (ATC) system is not keeping pace. The number of air traffic controllers has *decreased* by 14 percent in the past four years. Controllers rated as "full-performance level" have declined from 80 percent of the workforce to only 62 percent. And the number of maintenance personnel—the people who keep the radar screens and instrument landing systems working—has fallen to half its pre-deregulation level.

The results have not shown up in increased crashes—yet. But the signs are ominous. A recent General Accounting Office survey of controllers found that one-third are so overworked that they sometimes decline to advise pilots of nearby traffic when asked. And one-fourth decline requests for weather advisories. Near-collisions in midair jumped from 589 in 1984 to 777 in 1985.

Now you'd think, given this situation, that the ATC organization would be going all out to upgrade its capabilities—installing new equipment, seeking out experienced controllers and technicians, shifting people to where they're most needed—and raising prices to its users to cover the costs. Unfortunately, air traffic control is run by a government bureaucracy—the Federal Aviation Administration. So the ATC system isn't doing *any* of those things.

In fact, right now the FAA is desperately fighting just to preserve its workforce and budget against Gramm-Rudman *cuts*. Its capital spending to install next-generation computers and equipment is about $1 billion behind schedule—because Congress won't hand over funds that have long since been collected from earmarked taxes on fuel and tickets. And because the FAA is governed by civil service rules, it cannot offer the kind of incentive pay that a private employer would to entice more experienced controllers to overstressed facilities. Finally, the FAA has no control over its "prices"—the aviation user taxes set by Congress.

In short, today's ATC system is not doing the job because it *cannot* do what is needed. It can't do so because it is a government bureaucracy, not a service business responding to its customers' needs in the marketplace. The longer the status quo remains, the greater the likelihood that air travellers will pay the price in crashes.

Fortunately, aviation users are beginning to see *why* a bureaucratic, politically controlled ATC system can't hack it. The Air Transport Association, the principal airline trade group, has been circulating a proposal for divesting ATC from the FAA and setting it up as an independent corporation. The new corporation would be funded by direct charges (as in Europe) rather than so-called aviation user taxes.

Thus far, the ATA plan has drawn cautious support from *Aviation Week*, several former FAA administrators, and the National Academy of Public Administration. Yet in its present form, the plan does not go far enough. The ATA proposes that the new organization be a *federal* corporation, similar to—believe it or not—the US Postal Service! That would mean (1) Congress would still attempt to micromanage it, and (2) its employees would be forbidden from striking. These features could defeat the purpose of transforming ATC into a service business.

The fear of another controllers' strike is very powerful in aviation circles. Rather than banning strikes and paying the price of governmental status, however, the probability of a crippling strike could be minimized by decentralizing. Operation of the system's 23 air route control centers and hundreds of control towers could be contracted out to dozens of different firms, with contracts expiring at different times. That way, employees would be free to unionize, but no one strike could shut down the entire ATC system. Union officials are already on record as favoring privatization of ATC *if* the right to strike is restored.

The benefits of making ATC independent of government would be significant. A truly private ATC corporation would be free to raise the revenue needed to modernize and automate the system. As a user-pays service business, it would receive direct feedback from its customers, not indirect political feedback. It could attract and motivate top-flight managers *and* recruit from among the thousands of experienced air controllers now banned from federal employment as former strikers.

The alternative to some form of privatization is either draconian cutbacks in air traffic or an era of airline disasters. The prescription seems clear. It's time to privatize air traffic control. ◧

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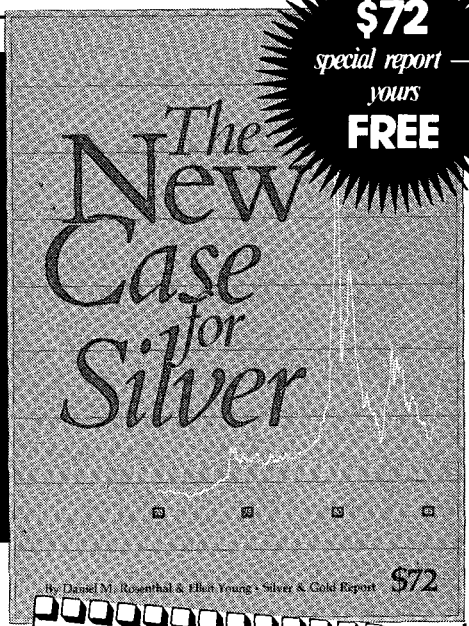

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brickbats

Ah, Sweden. That progressive land where a father can be jailed for spanking his son but officials happily condone his sleeping with his daughter. Now a Swedish court has ruled that a woman who stole clothes and sold them must be taxed as a business. She can, however, deduct any expenses she incurred on her shoplifting sprees. The court in Linkoping ruled that the woman, ordered to undergo psychiatric treatment for kleptomania, has to pay taxes on the $55,000 worth of goods she was convicted of shoplifting and selling. But she can deduct any money she spent on traveling to and from stores, as well as storage and telephone costs at home. Not only does crime pay, but it's deductible!

"I HEARD ABOUT THE WAR ON DRUGS, BUT SINCE WHEN DID THEY BRING BACK THE DRAFT?"

Remember how Ronald Reagan loved to blast bureaucratic drones who'd spend gobs of taxpayers' money on formal studies to prove what anyone with an IQ higher than a carrot already knew? Well, there he goes again! A $120,000 government study released last winter concludes that students who do their homework do better in school and that "children improve their reading ability by reading a lot." The 65-page Department of Education (the cabinet agency Ronnie vowed to abolish a few years ago) study was a response to the "dopeyness that we saw in educational theory and practice in the sixties and seventies," says Secretary of Education William J. Bennett. "Research sometimes appears to confirm the self-evident," adds assistant secretary Chester E. Finn, Jr. "But sometimes it raises important doubts about conventional wisdom." Yeah, like the idea that you don't have to be a Mondale Democrat to squander public funds.

The state of Florida says a company offering burials in outer space is operating an unlicensed cemetery. Celestic Group Inc. must own at least 15 acres of land in outer space with a paved road before it can get a permit. That's the rule for earthly graveyards, and the space cadets in the comptroller's office say it applies to the Milky Way as well. "The fact is they are using space for the permanent interment of human remains and they are operating out of Florida," says an official. The company advertises it will launch cremated remains in a gold-plated, lipstick-sized capsule. For $3,900, the capsule will be placed in orbit around the Earth. For $4,600, it will be sent into distant space.

Britain's Queen Elizabeth II knows that monarchy has its price. A woman bared her breasts in a Godiva-like protest just as Her Majesty was about to enter the Opera House in Sydney, Australia. The dissident attempted to give the Queen a white flower and came within 10 yards of the royal couple before police hustled her away as spectators jeered "Tart!" and "Harlot!" Godiva bared it all to protest high taxes. Just what was this young Aussie's complaint? "It was Queen Victoria who made us wear clothes up to our neck," she complained. "I am trying to reverse the situation."

That little doggie in the window has Randall Forselius in a biting and scratching fit. When he opened his tie shop in Denver last year, he had his three-year-old Airedale, Mustikka, modeling ties in the window. Cute gimmick, right? But then US Agriculture Department veterinarian Dr. John Gray told him that animals used to merchandise products must be licensed under a federal animal-welfare law. Forselius told the busybody to mind his own business. Gray later realized that Mustikka seemed to be well-cared-for and didn't complain about sitting in the window with an ugly tie around his neck. So the bureaucrat magnanimously told Forselius he didn't need a license after all. But by then it was too late. In a true case of the tail wagging the dog, Forselius got so angry at Gray's meddling that he closed his shop rather than get the license. How about a leash law for pesky functionaries?

Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.) deserves a medal for his blunt proposal to stop his colleagues from mailing sugar-coated newsletters to constituents. "This year, a newsletter moratorium could save at least $40 million in the Senate alone, and perhaps more in the House," says Danforth. "Most newsletters," he adds, "are self-serving efforts to enhance the author's chances on election day." The betting is 534-to-1 that his bill will never get out of committee.

—Mark Edward Crane

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Claim a share of your $25,000,000,000 the Gov't. holds!

Would you like up to $2,000 for just making a few phone calls and looking in some phone books? That is all you have to do to enjoy this kind of money. If you can read English and can talk on the phone, you can make thousands of dollars in a few hours—and you don't have to do any selling at all.

I am going to show you how you can make up to $2,000 an hour. This ad will also explain every detail of an exciting new business that has never been advertised or attempted before—what's more, you can enter with no money.

Life was not always rosy for me. I got involved in a bad business investment two years ago and I lost more than $11,000. I lost every cent I had, even money I didn't have. I worked as a clerk by day and a waiter by night. I never really liked cleaning tables, but what else could I do? I had to stop disappointing my loved ones. I remember coming home on Mother's Day really anxious to call my mother, only to find the phone disconnected. I went through my mail and prayed for some good news, only to find an envelope with no return address—it contained an eviction notice. We were fortunate to have relatives that were kind enough to let us stay with them. I didn't know that being in debt could hurt so much. I prayed for a way out.

My friend Gary who was in the same financial boat as me told me a story that changed my life forever. He told me very excitedly "I received a funny-looking letter in the mail. When I first saw it, I thought it was another creditor making a claim on me. The letter told me about money that was rightfully mine—it said that if I signed the enclosed form, I would receive $2,592.59. Things were so bad that I had nothing to lose, so I signed the form neatly and returned it to the company.

Ten days later I received a check for $2,592.59. With an explanation. A distant aunt had died and left $4,320.98 in her savings account. The company that found me collected $1,728.39. The firm had no trouble finding out that I was related to her. Just for matching up people with the same last names, that company was making millions each year."

$50,076.78 In One Month

This great opportunity really excited me. I was compelled to find out more about it. What could I lose? I found out everything I could and began to work on a plan. I put it into effect. My prayers were heard. To my relief I started to make more money than I have ever seen in my life for doing practically nothing. In fact my income last month was $50,076.78.

I got a C-minus average in high school—one year, I got an F in English. By no means was I ever considered to have the smarts. **All you have to do to make up to $2,000 an hour is thumb through phone books and make a few calls.**

My family and I have always loved the beach, so last summer we moved into a gorgeous home. My wife told me it was her life long dream to own a brand new car. You should have seen the tears of joy when I surprised her with her new $20,000 car. Later I bought a 1986 Mercedes 560 SL. That cost me over $50,000.

The amount of money I was making was incredible. Just as a hedge against taxes, I bought two 3-bedroom houses valued at $200,000. I asked everyone in my family what they wanted the most and they said they wanted to see all of us together going places. In the past month we have visited three countries. In fact, we take a vacation every month. It's great seeing the joy in everyone's eyes as I spend more time with them. **All of this for thumbing through the phone book.**

Twenty-five billion is just setting there waiting for someone to recover it. One out of ten Americans have forgotten or lost money in bank accounts, stocks, insurance premiums, etc., worth as much as the amount of $10 bills you could lay end-to-end around the world: **$25 billion.** I will disclose a plan to you that will show you how to get your hands on this money.

Only 10% of the rightful owners claim their share of the $25,000,000,000. The states make no strong effort to contact the rightful owners. Why should they, when unclaimed property is their biggest source of revenue, second only to taxes? The states are required by law to make a list of unclaimed owners. These lists are hard to find but I will show you how to get every one that the states publish. **And in some cases, they're free.**

Let me give you a random sample list from the state of Wisconsin. (Addresses are included in the lists.)

Owner's Name	Property	Amount
Drinka, Teresa, A	Savings	$10,891.47
Lavelle, Samuel	Stock Proceeds	$21,529.61
McDonnell, Martha	Savings	$12,843.78
Meyer, Thusneida	Savings	$18,489.18
Patterson, Arthur	Savings	$14,629.24
Stien, George	Savings	$57,525.83

This listing is only a minor portion of the $25 billion in unclaimed property that is waiting for you.

California still hasn't found the owner of one account worth $186,000. Someone in Massachusetts left behind $400,000. North Carolina owes one person $500,000. **All you need is a phone and a phone book to get your share of $25,000,000,000.**

Sample Proof

Bonnie Goldstien, a well-known syndicated newspaper writer who doesn't know very much about finding people, located the owners of $4,100 in two and a half hours with two telephone directories—she said so in the "San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle."

Sworn Testimonial

I've spent at least $7,000 on money making books and seminars. The difference between them and your method is that yours works! In less than three weeks (part time) I was able to secure $52,614.21. Thanks for a business that will easily make me $100,000 this year. If I can ever be of service just call.
Steve S.
Longmont, Colorado

As soon as you receive my book, you can make up to $2,000 an hour. All you need are telephone books and a phone. The proven system in this book can be learned in a half hour. After that, you are all set. If you can read English and can talk on the phone, you're in business. It's as easy as that.

My Guarantee

Send for my complete guide to recovering unclaimed money. Read the simple formula that has been tailored for each individual state. Sit down and make the required few phone calls and directory searches. **After following the simple formula, you must be able to recover up to $10,000 in one day** or your complete payment will be returned to you.

Everything in this ad is true, but I don't expect you to believe me. I want you to hear it from a very credible source. **Contact any politician and he or she will verify how much unclaimed money the states have.**

This opportunity can give you a new home, car and all of the luxuries money has to offer. Think of what up to $10,000 today could do for you. Could you use this kind of money? There is a definite flaw in our revenue system, and you can profit from it. I pride myself on making your decision simple. **You can either enjoy up to $2,000 or be one hour older—the choice is yours.**

David Bendah (619) 265-8777
6602B El Cajon Blvd., Dept.
San Diego, CA 92115

Dear Dave,

You can show me how to make up to $2,000 an hour, so $10 is a small price to pay. Send me your complete guide to recovering $25,000,000,000 in unclaimed money on the condition that I must be able to recover up to $10,000 easily in one day with your book or you will return my entire payment.

On that basis, here is my $10.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ *State* _____ *Zip* _____

For rush delivery please add **"2 dollars"**. For this type of delivery write RUSH in large letters on outside of envelope.

EF

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trends

Savimbi to Western Supporters: Lick Me

Angolan nationalist Jonas Savimbi's UNITA guerrillas have opened a new front in their battle to overthrow Angola's Marxist government—the wonderful world of stamps. Savimbi has authorized the Inter-Governmental Philatelic Corporation, based in New York City, to design a series of limited-issue stamps that can be used on letters mailed from UNITA headquarters in Jamba, Angola.

The first set of four stamps depicting Savimbi and various UNITA symbols was issued in February. A new set is to be issued each month. Sets sell for $15, or 1,500 Kuansas for those of you who prefer to use Angolan currency. Letters mailed from Jamba to an Angolan post need one stamp; international mail from Jamba requires all four stamps.

The largest market for UNITA stamps is expected to be composed of non-Angolans, according to Marc Rousso, chairman of the Florida-based Resistance Stamp Agency that is orchestrating the stamp program. Rousso told REASON that stamp collectors and UNITA supporters in the United States are likely to make the majority of stamp purchases. The first issue of 45,000 sets sold out during the month of March—bought largely, says Rousso, by stateside UNITA sympathizers. He believes, though, that "every month more and more collectors" will want to add the stamps to their collections.

Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, as pictured on a UNITA stamp.

Those wanting more information on how to purchase UNITA stamps should contact Marc Rousso, International Stamp Exchange Corporation, 310 Arthur Godfrey Road, Miami Beach, FL 33140 (305/672-7047). Rousso hopes that UNITA will raise "millions and millions" of dollars through its stamp program. If so, it would certainly disprove the old adage that philately will get you nowhere.

The FCC Dishes up a Morsel of Competition

In a ruling that largely preempts local zoning authority, the Federal Communications Commission has told the nation's cities that they cannot ban backyard satellite receiving dishes in an attempt to protect the cable television industry. Many cities and historical districts have tried to outlaw the dishes, ostensibly as eyesores. But some of these bans were a response to pressure from local cable TV operators who want to maintain their monopoly on pay television.

The FCC's 3-1 vote follows a complaint over one such Chicago ordinance alleged to favor the city's cable industry. As the *Wall Street Journal* reported, Chicagoans who want to install satellite dishes have had to get "the same government clearances needed to develop a hospital, airport or subdivision: a public hearing, approvals from three government agencies and payment of a $100 fee." The FCC ruling says that cities cannot use their zoning authority in this way to help the growth of cable TV.

Although the commission claims it will still support local restrictions based on "a reasonable and clearly defined health, safety or aesthetic objective," it will *not* allow restrictions that treat satellite receiving dishes less favorably than other kinds of antennas. Specifically, cities can't impose "unreasonable" limitations on or prevent reception of signals by satellite dishes, nor can they charge excessive fees to satellite dish owners.

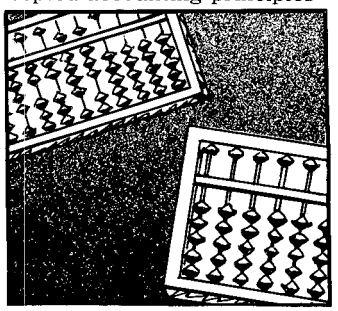
Frederick W. Finn, a lawyer for the Society for Private and Commercial Earth Stations (SPACE), says his group is pleased with the FCC decision. Although home reception of satellite signals was legalized only a year ago, there are already nearly 2 million dish owners, who pick up programs being transmitted to cable viewers without having to pay the subscription fee.

Meanwhile, while local cable franchises have been trying to deploy zoning laws against the competition, cable programming services, with Home Box Office and Cinemax leading the way, have been figuring out how to protect their own property. Even as the FCC decision was announced, they were starting to scramble their signals to prevent unpaid-for use.

Chalk one up against zoning and one for private property.

Blowing the Whistle on the Feds' Fixing the Books

In matters financial, the federal government is a lot like the parent who, with cigarette in hand, tells his kids not to smoke. The government requires publicly held companies to prepare financial statements in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles



(GAAP), which are designed to accurately reflect a company's financial situation. In return for its financial assistance, the federal government has directed New York City and other local and state governments to adopt GAAP for financial reporting and budgeting. But the government itself abjures such upright accounting.

Now, Arthur Andersen & Co., one of the Big Eight accounting firms, is blowing the whistle. In a hard-hitting report released earlier this year, the firm pointed out

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trends

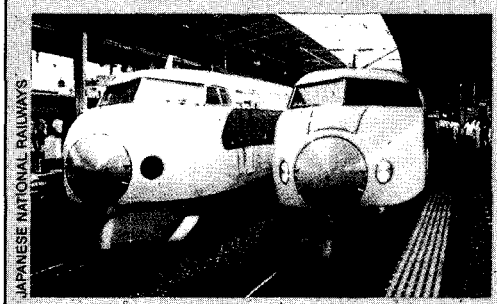
that the feds' nonstandard accounting system "hides the costs of current programs and results in misinformation and misunderstanding." The policy implications, the report notes, are substantial. Government's obligation-oriented, cash-basis accounting obscures the true cost of programs that promise benefits now but are not funded until later. With this accounting method, it's easy for politicians to court today's voters at the expense of tomorrow's taxpayers. It's therefore not surprising that, as the report reveals, "excluding interest expense, nearly all growth in Government spending *as a percentage of GNP* since World War II is related to programs that involve *promises to make future payments.*"

GAAP, in contrast, recognizes costs when they are incurred. Expenses are recorded when promises are made, not simply when money is paid. For 10 years,

global trends

Japan's Great Railway Bazaar

IN VOTING EARLIER this year to denationalize the country's debt-ridden railway system, the Japanese government committed itself to the world's largest privatization project to date. With 276,000 workers, Japan National Railways (JNR) is the nation's second-largest employer—and has debts of $207.2 billion. The move dwarfs Britain's $4.8-billion sale of its national telecommunications system last November, heretofore the world's biggest privatization.



JAPANESE NATIONAL RAILWAYS

Under the gun: Japan's famous "bullet trains" are included in the nation's colossal railway privatization plan.

The government plans to transfer JNR to private hands in two stages. First, the system will be divided among seven "special corporations," six for passenger service and one for freight, that the government plans to set up by next April. The government will hold all shares in the corporations until they are fully operational. The second stage is then to sell all shares to the public (with, by the way, no limitation on foreigners' stock purchases).

As always, mixed with good news there's some not-so-good news, as well. While the seven new companies will take over $63.3 billion of JNR's debts, the government will remain responsible for disposing of the rest of the red ink, $143.9 billion of it. The sale of government lands worth some $28 billion will help—but taxpayers will have to make good for at least $90 billion of the railway's bad IOUs. And while the new companies' prospects are aided by a provision that allows them to engage in nonrailway businesses to help boost their revenues (likely prospects are hotels, parcel delivery service, and real estate development), there are limits: Japan's small-business lobby pushed through a law that empowers the transportation minister to set off-limits any venture seen as threatening other businesses.

Still, the size and scope of the privatization plan is indeed impressive—and sets another precedent for such large-scale affronts on big government everywhere.

Gaels of Change

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A radical realignment of political forces is under way in Ireland—one that could lead to greater respect for individual preferences in social policy and greater appreciation for private enterprise in government economic policy.

Though it will not be settled until the next parliamentary elections (due in 1987), the balance of power by then is likely to rest in the hands of one Desmond O'Malley of Limerick, who in December launched a new political party. The Progressive Democrats' still-sketchy party program calls for greater economic freedoms for individuals and corporations, reductions in taxes and government spending, and secularization of policy on social issues such as divorce and contraception (still banned in staunchly Catholic Ireland).

Polls indicate that O'Malley and his party have caught the public's attention. In February, 25 percent said they would vote PD—which in the Irish system would translate almost directly into a quarter of the seats in parliament. Whether they will feel that way come election day, however, is another matter.

Few people remain as loyal to tradition as do the Irish, and in politics this may be doubly so. Through virtually the entire history of its independence, Ireland's politics has been dominated by two parties whose principal distinction remains to this day the side on which one's family fought in the civil war of 1921-23. Sons and daughters (and grandchildren) of those who supported the treaty of independence from Britain are members of Fine Gael ("tribe of Gael"). Descendants of those who refused to accept independence without inclusion of the six counties of Northern Ireland—and who made war on the treaty signers because of the omission—today belong mostly to Fianna Fail ("soldiers of destiny").

Over the years, basic policy disputes between the two parties have grown smaller and fewer. Meanwhile, the state has grown. Between 1975 and 1985, public spending rose from 45 percent of GNP to 54 percent (accumulating $16 billion in additional government debt along the way, for a total today of $25 billion in a nation of only 3 million people).

O'Malley's principal objective, he has made clear, is the creation of an environment that is attractive for private enterprise. "The ideal, in general terms, that we should aim at," he says, "is the sort of economic climate in the United States."

—Thomas O. Melia

the US Treasury has been using GAAP to prepare prototype financial statements for the federal government. But in its budgeting and related reports to the public, the government continues to shun GAAP in favor of the deceptive cash-based accounting.

One of the things the current accounting system hides is a larger deficit than is reported. For example, the cash-basis deficit of $185 billion for fiscal year 1984 does not fully reflect the costs of pensions, Social Security, and other obligations. Tallied by GAAP, the same deficit is a hefty *$333 billion*, which was more than the total personal savings of Americans that year. As the report points out, this figure represents "a claim upon the future standard of living of the American people."

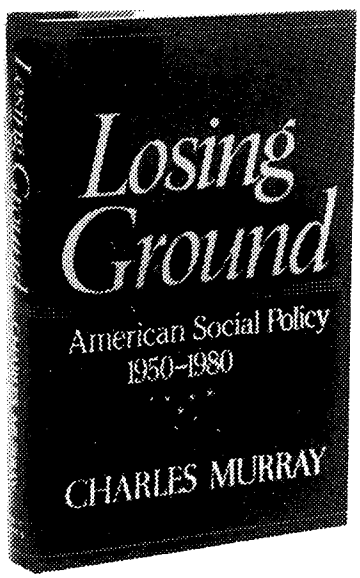
The government's books also substantially understate the true value of government-owned assets—and thus fail to indicate the potential benefits of various privatization moves proposed in the light of the budget crunch. All of the government's public-domain land, as well as the outer continental shelf and related mineral rights, is excluded "pending study on appropriate valuation methods." What land is included on the books is valued at acquisition cost. The same for government inventories. The government's gold reserves have been pegged at $42.22 an ounce for more than 10 years, while the market price of gold exceeded $800 for a time and even now is more than seven times the $42.22 figure.

Arthur Andersen & Co. isn't the first to see the need for financial reform. Back in 1950, Congress passed legislation requiring US government agencies to prepare GAAP-based financial reports like those required of private businesses. But succeeding Congresses and administrations have largely ignored these laws. And the government is not required to publish its own financial statements.

So while the debate over a balanced budget rages on, the feds persist in making it difficult even to define a balanced budget. "The current system," concludes the Arthur Andersen study, "neither reports costs nor provides other information that citizens need to determine whether they have received value for their money."

Washington and Dulles: Will the Government Sell Itself Short?

Rothschild and Sons investment-banking firm is forming a consortium to bid on purchasing the Washington, D.C.-area National and Dulles airports from their present owner—Uncle Sam. Working with privatization consultants at The Services Group and Free Zone Authority, both based in Arlington, Virginia,



DOES WELFARE HURT THE POOR?

LOSING GROUND

by Charles Murray

This profoundly influential book explains how the welfare state not only failed to help the poor, but often made things worse for the disadvantaged.

Murray's breakthrough work has had explosive impact on discussions of social policy in the '80s, and the reverberations will echo beyond the decade. This is the book social democrat Michael Harrington has called "dangerous," while such conservatives as Milton Friedman, William Buckley, Jack Kemp and Patrick Buchanan have hailed it as "brilliant."

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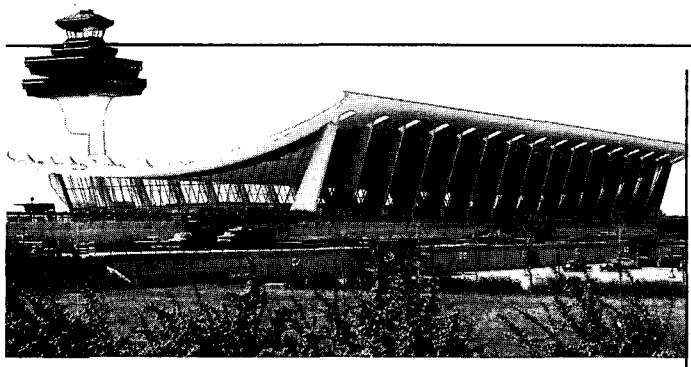


DEPT. OF TRANSPORTATION

Dulles International Airport: Will the feds sell?

Rothschild's expects the consortium to put together a bid of $500 million to $1 billion for full ownership of both airports.

The privatization proposal comes at a time when the Department of Transportation, which operates the federally owned airports, is finally moving to divest the government of the facilities. However, DOT now favors a plan to sell both airports to the state government of Virginia for only $47 million. There is some opposition to the DOT plan in Congress, which must approve the proposal. A number of legislators think that the debt-ridden federal government can get much more than the fire-sale price that DOT recommends. And at least one—Sen. Gordon Humphrey (R-N.H.)—thinks that privatization, instead of a government-to-government transfer, is the sensible route.

Why the Transportation Department has settled on the absurdly low figure of $47 million is nearly impossible to figure out. Analyst Paul Feldman, who proposed privatization of the airports three years ago in REASON ("Free the D.C. Two," Sept. 1983), figures that National Airport's 680 acres of land alone is worth some $1.2 billion. Of course, the only way to determine the airports' market value is to auction them, selling each to the highest bidder. The Rothschild plan shows that private parties are indeed seriously interested. The question is: will government officials and politicians take Rothschild's seriously? We'll keep you posted.

Unclogging the Drains on Prosperity

"State-owned enterprises are draining Third World economies dry, to cover their huge operating losses. The only sensible solution is privatization."

The preachment of a free-market ideologue? In fact, that was the central theme of a two-and-a-half-day conference in February sponsored by the US Agency for International Development (AID) in Washington. Over 500 people spent that time not debating *whether* to privatize but exploring how best to carry it out.

Workshop sessions covered such topics as the politics of privatization, financing mechanisms, legal and tax considerations, and marketing of divested enterprises. Discussion leaders included the Reason Foundation's Robert Poole, the World Bank's Gabriel Roth, the Adam Smith Institute's Madsen Pirie, and Johns Hopkins University's Steve Hanke (all familiar to REASON readers for their articles on privatization in these pages in recent years).

As significant as the subject matter was the composition of the conferees. About one-third were officials from Third World countries (including the director of privatization of Turkey's housing authority!); another third were AID staff and officials; and the remaining third consisted of journalists, federal employees, and, significantly, dozens of representatives of major investment-banking firms (Morgan Guaranty, E. F. Hutton, Lazard Frères, Rothschild's, etc.). Apparently, the word is out that there is much work to be done, and money to be made, arranging stock offerings and other forms of divestiture now that governments around the world are taking privatization seriously. Also notable for their presence were a number of consulting firms offering expertise in privatization.

To symbolize the importance of privatization to AID, Secretary of State George Shultz gave a luncheon address in which he termed privatization "central to the solution of a lot of the problems we see around the world." AID administrator Peter McPherson stressed that privatization could "liberate developing countries' economies from slow growth or stagnation" by substituting entrepreneurship for bureaucracy. And the director of AID's Bureau for Private Enterprise says privatization is "simply an idea whose time has come."

Whether action will follow all the talk remains to be seen. World Bank privatization consultant Elliot Berg has identified 30 instances of divestiture of state-owned enterprises in Africa, 165 in Latin America (the majority in Chile), and 250 in Asia (mostly in Bangladesh)—out of many thousands of white-elephant enterprises in government hands. But with AID now linking some of its assistance to progress in privatization, those numbers may begin to grow.

Milestones

■ *CHIPs get wise, ruffle feds.* The handsome men of the California Highway Patrol (CHP) have recommended that the speed limit on hundreds of miles of California's freeways be increased to 65 miles per hour. A CHP spokesman called the federally mandated 55 mph law "a laughingstock." Meanwhile, according to state reports, more and more of the nation's drivers are ignoring the double nickel, with increasing signs that the police know there's not much they can do about it.

■ *Something for Volcker's pipe.* The Reagan administration has changed its tune on nonbank banks—institutions that either don't take deposits or don't make loans, thereby avoiding burdensome federal regulation. Despite the vocal opposition to such banks by Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker, Treasury Undersecretary George Gould says the administration has decided that there is "no reason" to close the nonbank-bank loophole.

■ *The crumbling telephone monopoly.* McGraw-Hill is test-marketing X*Press, an electronic information system that delivers stock-market and other data over cable television instead of telephone lines. Stock brokers and traders in Boulder, Colorado, pay $19.95 a month for the service, compared to $1,000 a month for a phone-based system. McGraw-Hill plans to test X*Press in four more cities next year.

—Robert W. Poole, Jr., Lucy Braun, Bill Kauffman, and Eric Martí

Making Republicanism COOL

by **Bill Kauffman**

TV GUIDE Friday 10:00 P.M. *Miami Vice*—The nation's second-in-command (George Bush) teams with Crockett and Tubbs to bust a drug kingpin who mutters cryptic phrases. Glenn Frey sings a song, for no apparent reason.

Seriously. The vice president's staff is trying to wrangle him a cameo appearance on NBC's pastel policier, assuming the writers can dream up "a role that would be proper for a vice-president." You know, something dignified and befitting an office whose august alumni include Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew, and Henry Wallace. The possibilities!

Rubbing elbows with Don Johnson is heady stuff for a 61-year-old Yalie whose closest brush with cool to date was soliciting the graying Beach Boys' support for his unsuccessful 1980 presidential campaign. But George Bush wants to be your next president, and he's willing to risk hipness in the process. And he's not the only Republican presidential aspirant venturing into uncharted cultural territory.

Consider Bush's most formidable rival for the 1988 GOP nomination, New York congressman Jack Kemp. Or, rather, the immaculately coiffed ex-Buffalo Bill quarterback's press secretary and advisor, John Buckley. The 29-year-old Buckley's pedigree is impeccably Republican. Uncle Bill is editor-in-chief of *National Review*. Uncle Jim is a newly confirmed District of Columbia Circuit Court judge and the former Conservative-Republican senator from New York.

But young Buckley's salad days were

The GOP is sporting a new look to attract younger voters. It's nice wrapping, but what's inside the package?

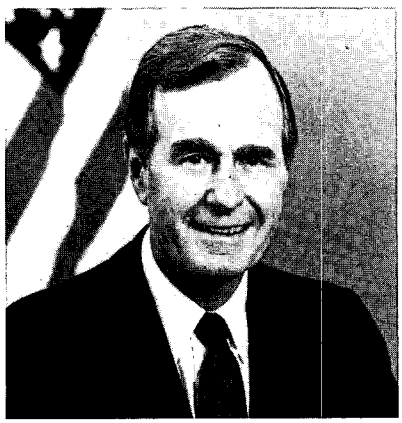
hardly the stuff of College Republicans' reveries. No WIN buttons, no Tricia Nixon crushes. Buckley comes to major-league Republican politics from the world of punk-rock journalism. Today he parries the feeble thrusts of the Washington press corps; five years ago Buckley was touting underground musicians like Zev and Human Switchboard for the late, great punk tabloid, *New York Rocker*. Sample Buckleyism: "Rush upstairs and *omigod* there he is: this wild-looking blond guy dressed in boots and orange pants and knee pads and a kerchief, wrestling a metal sheet around the room and making a hell of a ruckus. The deafening crescendo will not abate—it sounds like a white tornado going through one of those well-stocked American kitchens. But it's only Zev." (Cf. Uncle WFB's *McCarthy and His Enemies*.)

*Miami Vice*ster Bush and punk-Republican Buckley are only the most colorful lieutenants in the Republicans' long reach for majority-party status. A decade ago, in the wake of Watergate, public-opinion polls showed Democrats outnumbering Republicans by as much as 44 percent to 23 percent—nearly 2 to 1, for the math anxious. Today more than a third of adult Americans admit to being Republican, roughly equal to the number of Democratic loyalists. The GOP has the Big Mo, in Bushian argot. Majority-party status appears within reach—*if* the GOP succeeds in capturing the affections of the baby-boom generation. And therein lies the key to understanding the cool Republicans.

THE POPULAR MEDIA

have heralded, celebrated, dissected, lampooned, and pandered to the baby boom-yuppie crowd for two years now, sating all but the most voracious trendophiles. (Special mention should be given to *Newsweek*'s December 31, 1984, cover story proclaiming the "Year of the Yuppie," which set a never-to-be-equaled standard for sheer imbecility. Scour flea markets and treat yourself to an issue. You'll never forget it.)

Truth to tell, yuppies—workers under 40 years of age making more than $30,000—are far scarcer than the advertising executives would have you believe. There are, at most, 8 million such creatures, out of a total baby-boom generation population of 75 million (those born between 1946 and '64). Since



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AP/ WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Bush, Kemp, and* Miami Vice—*Pop art meets the art of politics

the franchise remains independent of wealth, the most affluent young Americans are hardly the colossal voting bloc they're rumored to be. "Yuppies were never worth focusing on," remarks Martin Franks, director of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. "There aren't that many of them."

Far more numerous are the "new collar" workers, baby boomers with incomes between $15,000 and $30,000. They're the folks standing proud and tall in the Miller Beer ads while the yuppies frolic for Michelob. Twenty-two million strong, the new collars are the real America. These baby-boom exemplars are described in a recent report prepared for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress: "In 1984, the typical young American family (head age 25-34) consisted of a husband and wife and a single child under age twelve. Less than half owned their own homes. Median pre-tax family income from all earners totalled $25,157." Which income, the authors comment archly, is "hardly enough to buy a BMW."

Nor is the popular stereotype of older baby-boom voters as erstwhile ponytailed Big Chill foes of fascism accurate. The enduring images of politically active youth in the 1960s—levitating the Pentagon or getting their heads busted by Mayor Daley's finest in Chicago—are anomalies. The proportion of college-age Americans who supported the Vietnam War was *higher* than the national average. More college students joined the right-wing Young Americans for Freedom (slogan: Sock It to the Left) in the 1960s than the leftist Students for a Democratic Society. George Wallace's hell-raising populist 1968 candidacy, featuring as veep candidate General Curtis "Bomb 'em Back to the Stone Age" LeMay, attracted disproportionate support from younger voters. No matter what they tell you, most '60s kids sat the revolution out.

YET DESPITE ALL THE

nonsense surrounding them, the 75 million baby boomers—yuppies, new collars, students, and the great unwashed alike—*do* share distinct political attitudes, a phenomenon that has not escaped the attention of the nation's more astute political strategists. Pollsters continually find this group, particularly those aged 18-29, exhibiting markedly more liberal attitudes than the

"Ain't gonna play fed city." Bruce Springsteen and John Cougar Mellancamp rebuffed Reagan's advances.

BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

general population on social and lifestyle issues such as abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, and legalizing marijuana.

At the same time, baby-boom voters are more likely to hold "conservative"—that is, free-market and anti-interventionist—economic views. To a greater extent than other age groups, they oppose new government spending programs, high taxes, protectionism, and other unsightly protruberances of the American welfare state.

This unusual conjunction of views—"liberal" on social issues, "conservative" on economic matters—distinguishes what Democratic Party strategist Ralph Whitehead calls "the most deeply individualistic generation in American history." These attitudes strike conventional-wisdom pundits as selfish at best, and contradictory nonsense at worst. A generation of low-tax dope-smokers? Aaargh! The *Newsweek* article blames it all on a generational tendency to be "unpredictable in their beliefs, even faddish," blithely unaware that opposition to government interference in one's personal and economic life is perfectly consistent. Or perhaps our Revolution in 1776 was simply faddishness writ large?

A far more sophisticated analysis of baby-boom politics appears in William S. Maddox and Stuart A. Lilie's *Beyond Liberal and Conservative*, a neat little book making the rounds of the political cognoscenti. Professors Maddox and Lilie, utilizing copious survey data compiled by the University of Michigan's Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, aver that "the supposed trend toward conservatism among our youngest generations is more a trend toward libertarianism (support for both economic freedoms and civil liberties) than a trend toward classic conservatism." Maddox and Lilie are seconded by Peter Kim of the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, which has studied baby-boom attitudes in considerable depth. Kim calls younger voters' political tendencies "a new kind of conservatism. It's more a resurgence of individualism...and a reluctance to accept the cliché liberalism of the 1960s."

This individualism reared its obstreperous little head during the 1984 campaign when younger voters enthusiastically supported septuagenarian Ronald Reagan. The president won 60 percent of their votes, ending two decades of national elections in which the Democrats' strongest support had come from voters under 30. Astonishingly, exit polls showed that more than 35 percent of younger Americans considered themselves Republicans, up from just 14 percent in 1975. And the rhythm is still with 'em. The *Washington Post* reports that its survey data reveal that "the voters who identify with the Republican Party are significantly younger than the general public, while the Democratic Party contains a disproportionately large share of voters 55 and older."

The conditions in which Mr. Reagan ran were so propitious—peace, relative prosperity, and a transparently abject hack as an opponent—that his strategy may seem irrelevant. The weary, joyless Mondale, a career politician peddling the most banal form of bureaucratic statism, was easy pickings indeed. Nevertheless, the Reagan campaign is significant, for it portends the shape of things to come.

The '84 Republican strategy was simple. Appeal to baby boomers by emphasizing free enterprise and opportunity, particularly in the form of the president's opposition to tax hikes, while glossing over social issues and thundering sententiously on foreign affairs—"A nuclear war can never be won, and must never be

fought," etc. School prayer and other issues salient to the religious right were played down, given only the most perfunctory lip service.

Reagan pulled it all off in spectacular style, says '84 deputy campaign director Lee Atwater, because he "successfully convinced baby-boomers that he's tolerant." (Remember that he's yet to disown any of his goofy offspring, an act of tolerance bordering on abdication of parental duties.) The telemaniacal young congressman Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), founder of the Republicans' raucous Conservative Opportunity Society, captured the primacy of economic issues in the '84 campaign with customary pungency: "The average yuppie worries less about Big Brother kicking in the door to take away *Penthouse* than about Big Walter persecuting them by taking away their tax money."

COMPLEMENTING

Reagan's opportunity-society themes were the GOP's first, tentative steps in a direction that might charitably be termed hip. To be sure, much of the president's appeal stems from a jaunty, manly confidence that inspires even Mitch Miller fans. "Reagan's role in making Republicanism hip should not be overlooked," cautions Buckley, who points out that for whatever reason kids just like the damn guy.

But Reagan's emergence as teen idol wasn't entirely fortuitous. The 1984 Reagan campaign was the first in modern times in which Republicans unabashedly spoke the language of youth and the pop culture. During the campaign, Reagan aides sat their boss down and made him watch a few rock videos to see what those crazy kids are up to these days. (And don't you wish you were a fly on *that* wall?) Reagan aides took care to surround the old guy with teen icons from the ineffably cute gymnast Mary Lou Retton to the fey warbler Michael Jackson as the president crossed the country exhorting those half a century younger than he to "go for it."

The apple-cheeked "Nixon's the One" girls who cast such a nerdish pall over Republican rallies of the recent past were consigned to the dustbin of history. In the hip new world of 1984, teams of young Republicans warmed up Reagan crowds with a few choruses of their rollicking "Ghostbusters" parody, "Fritzbusters." Not since Jack Carter played the Lido Room at the Stardust have ribs been tickled with such hilarity.

On the wilder side, Reagan aides attempted, without success, to enlist John Cougar Mellancamp's rock hit "Pink Houses" and Bruce Springsteen's "Born in the USA" as unofficial theme songs. (Can you imagine the Nixon '68 campaign soliciting support from Jim Morrison or Jimi Hendrix?) The singers

BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

Rhythmic Republicans? Ron poses with Michael Jackson, while the Beach Boys go serfin' USA.

Taft, Rambo, Roosevelt—which is the choice of a new generation?

resisted, no doubt bemused by the presidential entreaties. Neither the sardonic Mellancamp song nor Springsteen's lost-Vietnam-vet elegy is exactly mood music for morning in America. Events unfolded thusly: the president invoked Springsteen's name in a campaign speech anyway, a Reagan aide claimed Ron listens to the *Born in the USA* album "all the time," Bruce dedicated his autoworker-loses-job-and-kills-a-night-clerk folkie "Johnny 99" to his First Fan, and Mellancamp recorded a great album about the supposed ugliness of the Reagan years.

George and Jack will probably leave Bruce and John alone in '88. There will be new pop stars to coopt. But the wise Republican understands that style carries one only so far. It don't matter how many pairs of Ray-Bans George Bush wears. If he and Kemp fail to tailor their campaign pitches to the under-40 generational *zeitgeist*—economically conservative, socially liberal—some canny young Democrat will. Bill Bradley, after all, really *does* listen to Bruce Springsteen.

REPUBLICAN

strategists see economic issues, particularly taxes, as the key to the kingdom, realignment-wise. Buckley asserts that "the baby-boom vote puts as its first and foremost criterion who will make the economy grow." And Kemp is nothing if not a tireless promoter of economic growth through tax reduction. Not that he desires a concomitant decline in state expenditures—"I take a little flak from some conservatives or libertarian people who don't think that we want more revenue" admits Kemp. But "there are important things for the government to be doing, from defending the country to many socially or economically desirable goals."

Bush, meanwhile, has put aside his country-club reservations about "voodoo economics" tax cuts and joined the faith. Dark-horse GOP candidates similarly tout the virtues of lower taxes, from supply-side ex–Delaware governor Pete DuPont to millionaire TV evangelist Pat Robertson. In fact, Robertson is the most fervent would-be tax-cutter of the bunch. He supports an across-the-board 10 percent flat tax, and with his glib tongue and good looks he could do surprisingly well with baby-boom voters in the unlikely event he's willing to play down the snake-handler bit.

The Republicans are on the side of the angels on economic issues, and the Democrats know it. Laments Christopher Matthews, an aide to House Speaker Tip O'Neill, "We Democrats will never win the baby-boomers if we are seen as the party of tax increases."

Far more vexing to GOP candidates seeking support from younger voters are the social issues. It's a near-axiom that in order to win the Republican nomination, a candidate must sacrifice a measure of liberty and tolerance to the Moloch of the New Right. So we are treated to the sorry spectacle of Bush, Kemp, et al. prostrating themselves before the Conservative Political Action Conference and other New Right gatherings, wooing right-wing activists with harshly unlibertarian rhetoric.

New Right chieftain Howard Phillips, for one, sees no alternative for the ambitious Republican. The president of the Conservative Caucus argues that "values voters"—social conservatives—are the cornerstone of a GOP majority. "Without values voters, no Republican is going to win the presidency," he declaims. And if a Bush or a Kemp should ignore or take for granted these values voters? Phillips thinks they'll abandon ship and—assuming the Democrats "are shrewd enough to camouflage their Marxism"—support a putatively conservative candidate like "a Chuck Robb [former Virginia governor and LBJ son-in-law] or a Lee Iacocca."

The early jockeying for position within the party suggests that Phillips's assessment isn't far off. George Bush's toadying to the New Right has been so egregious that Tory columnist George Will charged Bush with emitting "a thin tinny 'arf'—the sound of a lapdog." In the rush to propitiate values voters, the Republicans seem to be forgetting the economically conservative, socially liberal baby boomers they so assiduously courted two years ago.

But Lee Atwater, now a $100,000-a-year top consultant to Bush's embryonic '88 campaign, insists they've not been forgotten. He sees "conservative liber-

tarians" as the key element of a winning GOP coalition in 1988 that would also include garden-variety conservatives and "conservative populists"—Phillips's kind of folks. Atwater urges the employment of "anti-big institution"—big business, big labor, big government—themes as the glue to hold this agglomeration of voters together. Since the three groups are united, at some level, in opposition to increased regulation of the economy, there will be much rhapsodizing about the wonders of the free market. The trick is going to be to throw the populists and conservatives a few social-issue bones while winking tolerant at the libertarians to keep them in the fold. "The concept of tolerance," Atwater emphasizes, "is very important" to baby-boom voters. And an image of tolerance is very important to he who seeks their votes.

Atwater's interest in courting libertarian-leaning voters is well-grounded. Maddox and Lilie, in assaying the ideological composition of the Republican Party, found that libertarians constitute 29 percent of the party, while 27 percent are conservative, 18 percent populist (interventionist on social *and* economic issues), 13 percent liberal, and the remainder unclassifiable. Thus a majority of rank-and-file Republicans could conceivably bring themselves to vote for a candidate who combines faith in the free market with cautious support for certain civil liberties. Indeed, the Maddox and Lilie study suggests that a conservative Republican willing to ignore the New Right huffing and puffing might do better to throw in his lot with the libertarian wing of the party rather than with the populists—and wouldn't *that* occasion a free-for-all?

A FINAL, POTENTIALLY

nettlesome issue for the Republicans in '88 is foreign policy. From the '30s to the early '50s, various Western and Midwestern Republicans—contemptuously dismissed as "isolationists" by the folks who brought you Yalta, Korea, and the American Century—offered prescient and principled criticisms of American prewar and Cold War foreign policy. Men like Senators Robert Taft and Kenneth Wherry and Representative Howard Buffett, among others, warned Americans that embarking on a global crusade against communism would inevitably result in a centralized economy at home and the curtailment of civil liberties. (The presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson stands as a monument to the old isolationists' powers of prophecy.)

Alas, the isolationist impulse has all but disappeared from the GOP leadership. Republican Party potentates, with the possible exception of Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, have adopted wholesale the America-as-world-policeman assumptions of the postwar Democrats. The 30 percent or so of the GOP rank-and-file who the opinion polls tell us retain a Taft-like opposition to foreign intervention are a source of embarrassment to be gently ignored, much as a bumpkin relative who stumbles upon his debutante cousin's coming-out party. After all, asserts rising star congressman Vin Weber (R-Minn.), "A majority party cannot be isolationist."

It is the bumptious young Republicans like Kemp, Weber, and Gingrich who are the most vocal about their party's commitment to interventionism. Kemp, fearful of being tagged an ignoramus on foreign policy matters, has taken the rhetorical lead in the House of Representatives in securing US aid for Jonas Savimbi's UNITA rebels in Angola. He is similarly vocal about sending taxpayers' money to support the *contras* in Nicaragua. Gingrich boasts that the new Republican role model is Teddy Roosevelt—a life-lover, to be sure, but also America's foremost apostle of imperialism.

He's a role model they may want to reconsider. An aggressive, interventionist foreign policy of the sort the Republicans are offering is likely to repel the baby-boom voters the GOP needs to attain majority-party status. Even at the height of President Reagan's popularity with young voters, a full *63 percent* disapproved of his handling of defense matters and agreed that the president had brought the nation closer to war.

And contrary to the teens-as-Rambos nonsense being bruited about by sociologists, Ellen Goodman, and other sanctimonious nuisances, a "new militarism" has *not* infected the young. (Memo to culture buffs: Rambo's enemies were the Vietnamese *and* US governments; the kids in *Red Dawn* fought the commies because "we live here" in a world war for which the superpowers were equally culpable; Bruce Springsteen is proud to be born in the USA *despite* its government, not because of it; Rocky, after absorbing several thousand blows to the head, issues a plea for detente and peace, love, and understanding.) The Gallup poll even reveals that Americans under 30 trust the military *less* than those of any other age group—including the 30-to-49-year-olds who came of age during the '60s.

Nevertheless, Kemp, Bush, & Co. seem disinclined to reexamine regnant interventionist assumptions. If anything, Kemp and the New Right find the Reagan administration too timorous in its use of force—Phillips demands nothing less than a worldwide "victory over communism," pouring God knows how many dollars and young boys' lives down foreign ratholes. Nor are chief strategists Buckley and Atwater overly concerned about their party's globalist drift. Buckley doubts it's a vote-loser—"on foreign policy, baby boomers are least monolithic," he claims.

Atwater is less certain. He concedes that "isolationism is a long tradition," still popular among the conservative-leaning libertarians and populists the GOP must attract. But he thinks the Monroe Doctrine's warning to Old World powers against interference in this hemisphere remains popular, as evidenced by the overwhelming support the US invasion of Grenada won from all age groups. "Our hemisphere is sacred," asserts Atwater. Perhaps, though a consistent Monroe Doctrinaire would also demand that the United States drop out of NATO, which none of the GOP aspirants has yet done or will do barring global calamity or a sudden attack of good sense.

Few of us are so naive as to expect good sense from men crafty enough to succeed at national politics. Do expect, however, to be bombarded over the next two years with lots of slick agitprop, set to a pulsating rock beat, pumping Republicans as the party of growth and opportunity. "The whole Republican philosophy is based on the concept of individualism," insists Atwater. And even if he's exaggerating just a bit, top GOP strategists really are trying to get the measure of the most individualistic generation in a hell of a long time. *Miami Vice* is a big step up from Miami Beach, where 14 years ago the hippest personage at a Republican Convention was Sammy Davis, Jr. But don't start looking for Human Switchboard to entertain at party gatherings quite yet. Though if they did, laughs Buckley, "the future would be a lot brighter for Republicanism." ◻

Bill Kauffman is assistant editor of REASON.

Budget Talk with Tom and Ralph

by James Dale Davidson

"The principle of spending money to be paid by posterity, under the name of funding, is but swindling futurity on a large scale. . . . Suppose Louis XV and his contemporary generation had said to the money lenders of Holland, give us money that we may eat, drink and be merry in our day; and on condition that you will demand no interest till the end of nineteen years, you shall forever after receive an annual interest of 12.5 percent. The money is lent on these conditions, is divided among the living, eaten, drunk, and squandered. Would the present generation be obliged to apply the produce of the earth, and of their labor to replace their dissipation? Not at all. . . . [T]he laws of nature impose no obligation on them to pay this debt. And although, like some other natural rights, this has not yet entered into any declaration of rights, it is no less a law, and ought to be acted on by honest governments."

—Thomas Jefferson

"Nothing in nature can be mismanaged for long."

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

Jefferson and Emerson could teach us a lot about balancing the books.

There have been proposals for a balanced-budget amendment since the earliest days of the Republic. Jefferson first suggested it. The State of New York seconded the notion, asking that a balanced-budget provision be included in the Bill of Rights. The first Congress thought about it, but somehow it didn't seem necessary. So the constitutional provision to balance the budget never got passed.

And nobody seemed to miss it. For about 150 years, the budget was more or less in balance—without any constitutional requirement—and the country prospered. Jefferson's proposal was so thoroughly forgotten that when the idea reemerged a few years ago, it seemed brand new. And it was, almost. The state legislators who took the lead in proposing it were responding to the changed condition of federal finances with a remedy that has been almost universally applied at the state level—constitutional restraint on deficits.

Beginning in 1975, legislators in four states spontaneously invoked Article V to call for a limited constitutional convention for the specific and exclusive purpose of drafting a balanced-budget amendment. It is fair to say that they were not motivated by theoretical considerations but practical ones. They saw the federal budget slipping out of control. They were aware of the practical value of balanced-budget requirements in their own state constitutions.

The experience in Maryland is particularly important in this respect because Marylanders, led by State Senator James Clark, were instrumental in spreading the convention-call movement to other states.

Like most other states that later adopted constitutional requirements for a balanced budget, Maryland originally placed no restrictions on the legislature's ability to spend. As a result, state

finances were constantly in a shambles. Dogged by a poor bond rating, the state faced bankruptcy early in the century. A commission established to reform state finances, chaired by the president of Johns Hopkins University, recommended that a very strict balanced-budget provision be inserted in the state's constitution. The provision prohibits the legislature from raising spending beyond what is proposed by the governor. The amendment was adopted in 1916 and had the intended effect. It seemed reasonable to legislators that similar restrictions at the federal level would work.

These restrictions need to be in the form of a constitutional amendment. Federal balanced-budget statutes, such as the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings plan to eliminate deficits by 1991, can be easily overridden or simply ignored by a Congress that finds budget-cutting impolitic. Only a constitutional amendment can bind Congress to balance the budget in any other way than by throwing ever more burdens onto the taxpayers' backs.

To date, 32 states have officially petitioned for a constitutional convention to draft such an amendment. Despite a hullabaloo about the alleged dangers of a convention, other states seem poised to call for an amendment. One of these days, Congress will have to propose it—or stand by while a convention does.

This brings the meandering of history full circle. We are back to Thomas Jefferson's idea that the borrowing powers of Congress should be constitutionally restricted. This raises two questions: 1) If we could scrape by for so long without a balanced-budget requirement, why do we need one now? 2) If we do need an amendment, why did the deficiency remain hidden so long? One answer to both questions is found in the change in America's monetary constitution.

Through a gradual process, stretching out through much of this century, politicians have managed to sever the connections that anchored the currency to gold. The last, weak link was broken by President Richard Nixon on August 15, 1971. On that date, he ended the convertibility of the dollar into gold. From then on, there has not been a single surplus at the federal level. And the average size of deficits has literally shot up, from $6 billion a year during the 1960s to more than $200 billion a year today. Even adjusting for inflation, this is a staggering increase. In just 14 years since the link to gold was severed, the nominal debt of the United States has quadrupled. In short, there is strong circumstantial evidence linking the deficit crisis with the floating of the dollar.

This is not a coincidence. When the politicians at last slipped free of the gold-reserve system, they also slipped free of a restraint that effectively limited deficits. Under the old regime, the threat of the inflationary consequences of massive deficits could generate an almost immediate deflationary reaction. So long as the monetary base was tied directly to gold, spending decisions were restrained by a political cause and effect as tight as anything the constitution could explicitly ordain. Had politicians indulged in unbridled deficit spending in the past, they would, in most cases, have found the political purpose of this spending disappointed.

Rather than ensuring its members reelection, a profligate Congress would have ensured its defeat. Here's why: Alarm over deficits would have induced people to turn in dollars for gold, thus contracting the monetary base. Contracting the monetary base brings a recession or depression. A recession or depression leads to the defeat of incumbent politicians. Therefore, in order to avoid defeat, politicians for the most part avoided deficits as long as the dollar was tied to gold.

Of course, there were exceptions at wartime, for obvious reasons. War not only changes the structure of the economy, it alters voters' attitudes toward economic hardship. Furthermore, the United States has suspended gold convertibility at wartime. The fact that this was necessary also suggests that gold convertibility placed a limit on deficit spending.

In this perspective, the current campaign to constitutionally limit deficit spending is not, as some opponents have charged, an attempt to impose restrictions where none previously existed. To the contrary, it is an attempt to improvise a replacement for past restrictions that the Congress has now escaped.

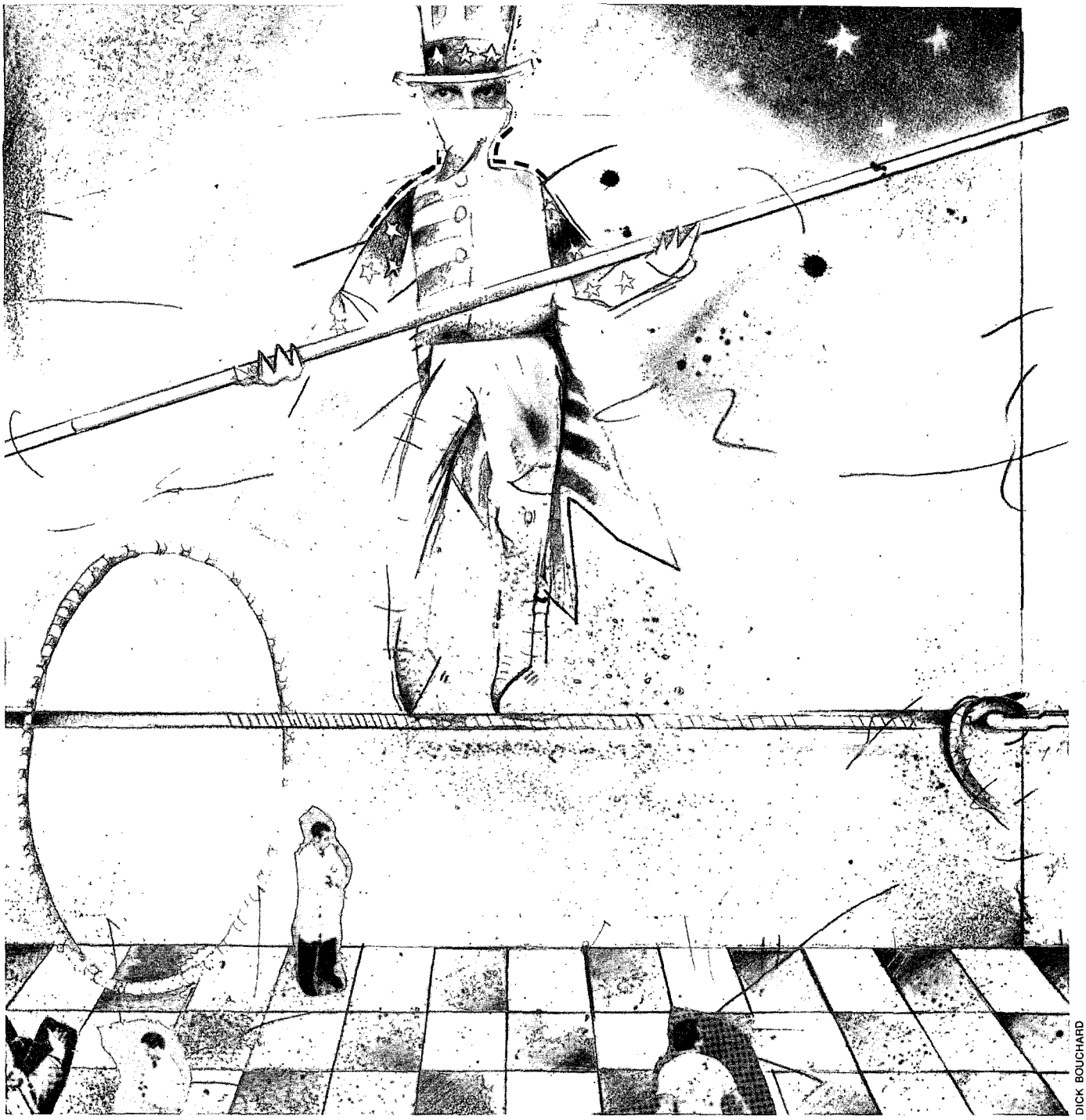
In all likelihood, a balanced-budget amendment will not limit the spending prerogatives of the Congress as severely as did the old monetary regime. For an amendment to do that, it would probably have to mandate reductions in M1 for every percentage point the budget is in deficit. The old monetary regime worked more or less that way, and it did not allow Congress the luxury of a two-thirds or three-fifths override. In a choice between a draconian cut in deficit spending and a draconian reduction in the money aggregates, politicians would have to choose the spending every time. Or to put it more positively, they would never allow the deficit to run out of control in the first place.

The orgy of def- icits over the last decade-and-a-half was an attempt by politicians to have what cannot be had: benefits without costs. This, as Emerson said, is impossible. "Though no checks to a new evil appear, the checks exist, and will appear." The emergence of the balanced-budget amendment is no less than one would expect. If it had not emerged, it would indicate that our system was completely petrified. As stiff as a rock. In fact, however, the system is more like a thick, sedimentary sludge. It doesn't respond easily and quickly. But it is fluid enough that it can be made to move. Energy in the citizen can compensate for the mismanagement of the politician.

That is the most wholesome place for the compensation to arise. But one way or another, arise it must. There is no such thing as something for nothing. Not now. Not ever. "The sure years reveal the deep remedial force that underlies all facts." Every defect or excess inspires some remedy. That remedy may be postponed. It may be made more painful. But it comes, inevitably. For the same reason that trees do not grow to the heavens, deficits cannot grow to the heavens.

All debts are ultimately discharged. Even national debts. They may be discharged by repudiation, inflation, or collapse. They may be discharged by running surpluses, as Jefferson sought to discharge the debts of the Revolution. But one way or another, every debt is discharged. And even those that appear to be shirked are paid by someone, somewhere. As Emerson said, "Everything has its price, and if that price is not paid, not that thing but something else is obtained, and that it is impossible to get anything without its price, is not less sublime in the columns of a ledger than in the budgets of states."

It is easy to imagine that justice is always getting the short shrift. This is true if we view justice in individual terms. But we should not view it that way, any more than we should judge the compensatory forces of the market in



DICK BOUCHARD

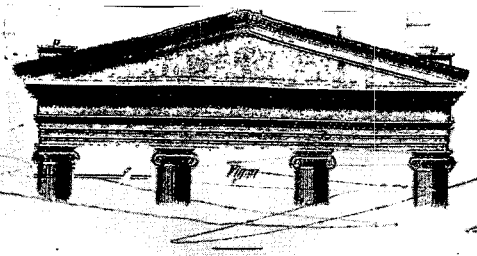
terms of individual transactions. For example, the fact that the market will tend to weed out cheats does not mean that you will not be cheated when you next buy something. The fact that the market stimulates progress does not mean that the next mousetrap you buy will be better than the last one.

All compensatory mechanisms are defective in individual cases. (For more on this, see Professor F. A. Hayek's work on social justice.) So it is in macropolitics. Read the papers and you see stupid arguments and selfish pleading dominate political debate. Read history and you see that the distribution of injustice is always in the right hands. Brute force seems, at times, to have its way. But every evil, once set in motion; every intervention and economic distortion, once pursued, creates its own compensatory reaction.

This is no less true of runaway deficit spending. The politicians who seem to have escaped all bounds are actually in the process of being trapped by overwhelming forces of economic adjustment. It is just that cause and effect are linked together with a long rubber band. The adjustment mechanisms for inflationary and expansionary excesses are always deflationary and contractionary. As the deficits continue and the interest on the compounding debt is capitalized, the contractionary consequences will be ever more difficult to elude. In time, they will be overwhelming.

In short, just because the feedback loop is longer does not mean that it is weaker. Quite the contrary. The longer the deficit solution is delayed, the more powerful the deflationary forces become. If the balanced-budget amendment is not adopted soon, the politicians will someday wish it had been. One way or another, we will someday have to set our ledgers right and begin to discharge the debt. In this light, the balanced-budget amendment is not only an expression of the compensatory mechanism at work, it is the easy way out. That's why I expect that it will soon be adopted. ◧

Contributing Editor James Dalé Davidson is founder and chairman of the National Taxpayers Union in Washington, D.C. and author of The Squeeze.



Justice is supposed to be blind. But judges are winking at criminals with trendy politics.

Bias on the Bench

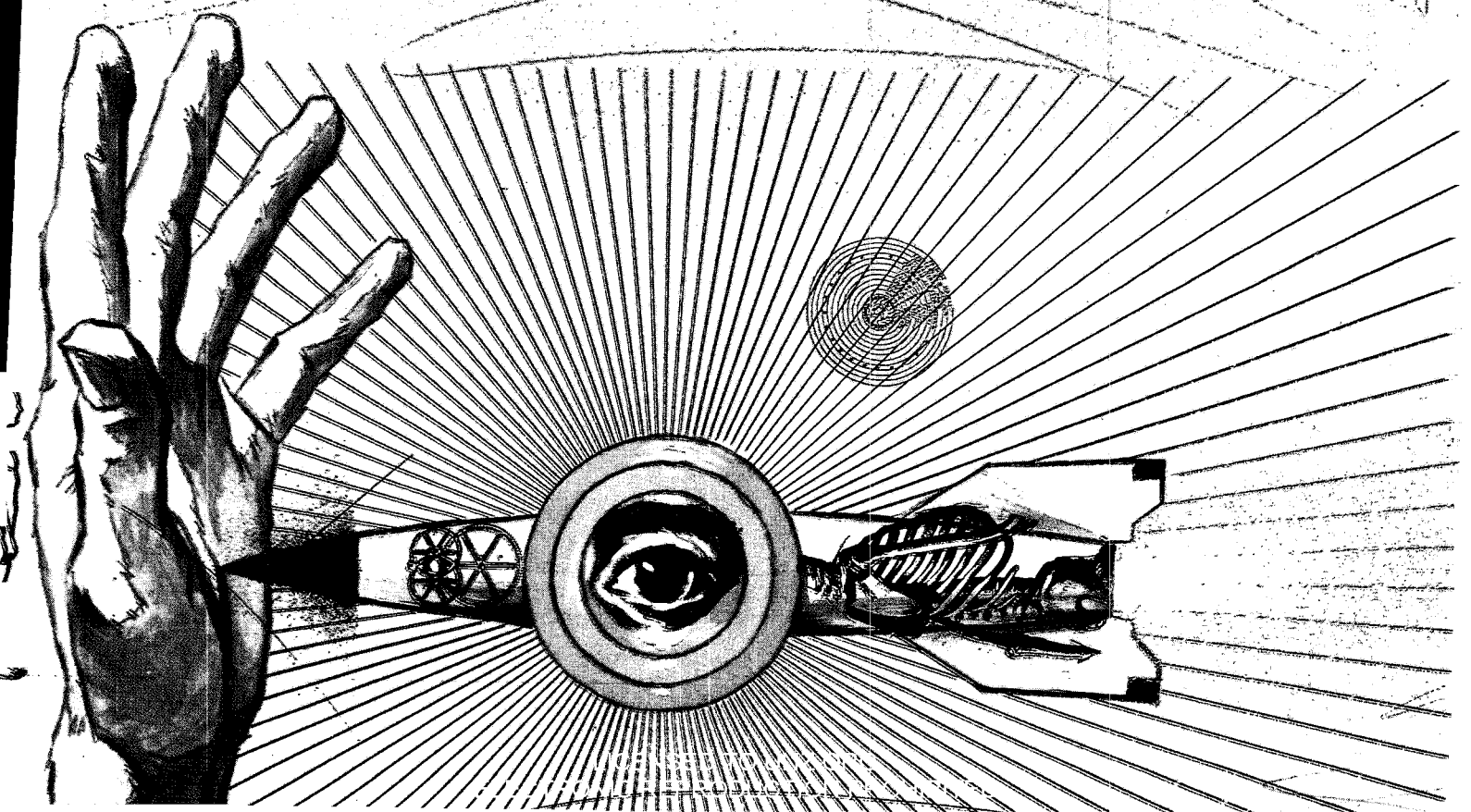
by *Elliot Rothenberg*

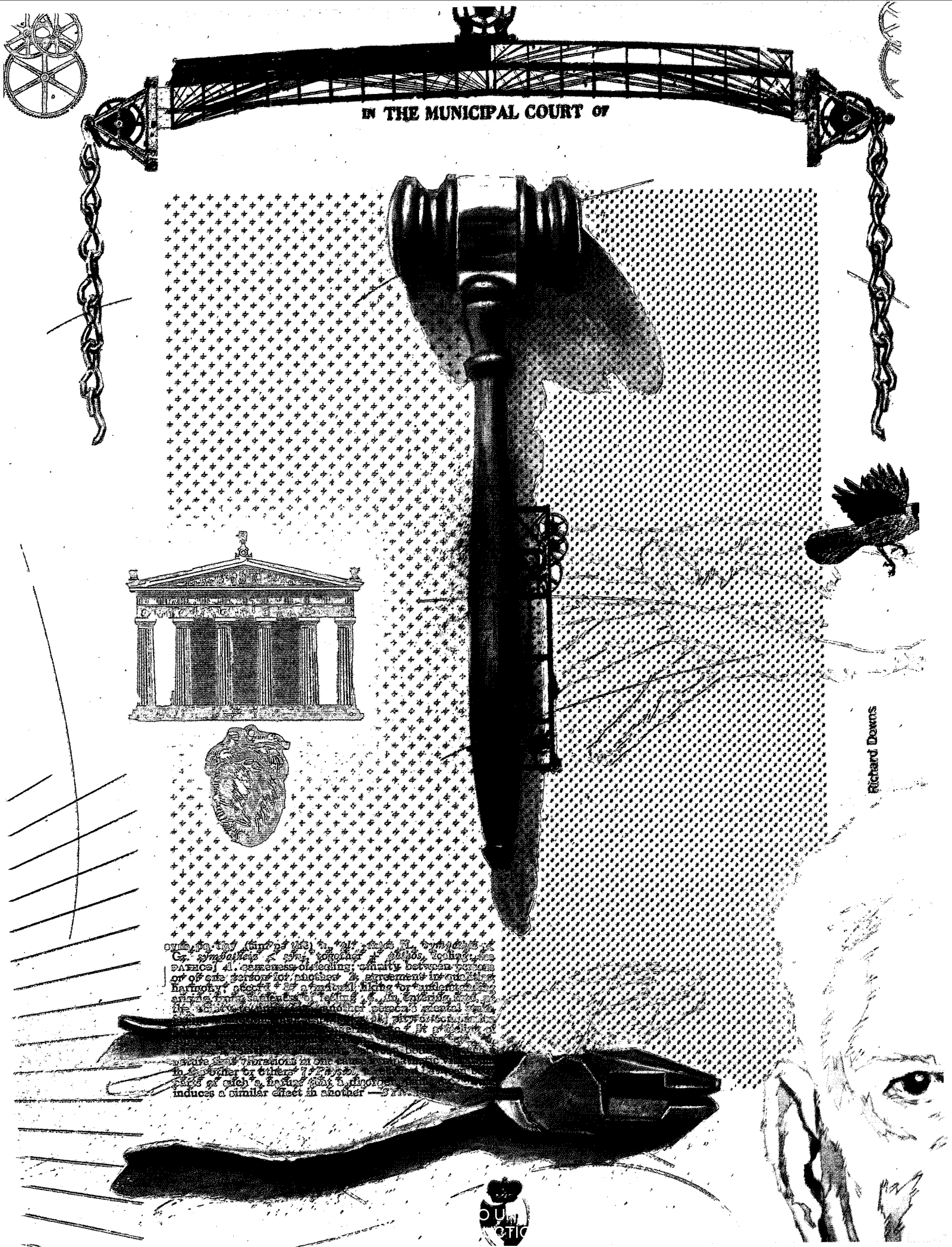
In what may be the most famous criminal case in American history, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were executed in Massachusetts in 1927, six years and several appeals after their convictions for murdering two employees of a shoe factory. To many, Sacco and Vanzetti were punished not because they committed criminal acts but because of their trial judge's alleged prejudice against their anarchist politics. If there is a lesson to be drawn from the Sacco and Vanzetti case, it is that political ideology should have no role in determining one's guilt or innocence in a criminal case.

Yet the wall separating politics from the judicial process has been breached again in several recent federal and state court cases. In contrast to Sacco and Vanzetti, these decisions allowed individuals to escape punishment for crimes of trespass, property damage, and even murder. As such they raise disturbing questions with respect to the role that the political prejudices of judges and juries can play in judicial proceedings.

None of these cases involved challenges of civil disobedience to laws infringing individual liberties. The defendants in these cases are not analagous to the courageous individuals who mounted the successful campaign against state and local "Jim Crow" laws in the 1950s by refusing to honor demarcations by race in, say, public transportation. None of the current offenders have claimed that the laws they have violated are unjust, unconstitutional, or invalid in any way. Nor did or could they dispute that laws prohibiting murder, property damage, and trespass serve to protect rights to life, liberty, and property.

In all of these cases, the persons on trial had not deliberately violated just laws and the rights of others in order to protest against these laws, as in the racial discrimination example. Instead, they had acted in order to dramatize (and to maximize media coverage of) their disagreement with policies adopted by




IN THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF
Richard Downs

democratic procedures or to physically harm those charged with administering these policies. What makes their conduct all the more reprehensible is the ready availability of legal methods to seek change in a constitutional democracy.

Minnesota has been the site of several ideologically tainted cases. Decisions by federal and state courts there have condoned organized acts of trespass and vandalism against the state's two largest defense contractors, Honeywell and Sperry. (It should be noted that the participants in these acts have not accused either company of manufacturing instruments of domestic repression or of involving themselves in any other way in the violation of citizens' rights.)

Since October 1982, masses of protesters have been staging periodic day-long blockades of Honeywell's Minneapolis headquarters, preventing employees and visitors from entering or leaving the building. In August 1984, two protesters forced their way into a Sperry plant in a St. Paul suburb, destroyed a computer designed under contract with the Defense Department, and poured blood over the premises.

The essential facts were not in contention when these cases came to trial. The only question before the courts was whether the protesters' opposition to US defense and foreign policy excused their violation of criminal law. Evidently it did; the courts gave paramount status to the political opinions of those tried.

At the many Honeywell blockade trials, which began in spring 1983, the arrested protesters have admitted that they trespassed on private property and harassed the company's employees. Yet they have insisted in court that their political opposition to US government policies provides moral justification for criminal acts against manufacturers of defense-related products for the US government.

Jurors in June 1983 acquitted 36 of the first Honeywell protesters tried. (Interestingly, 31 of their compatriots, who failed to use a political defense, were convicted.) Media interviews with the jurors suggest that the acquittals were based on sympathy for the defendants' political views. In response to a request by Minneapolis city prosecutors, a special three-judge court in October 1983 ordered that testimony regarding political beliefs be excluded as irrelevant to whether a crime had been committed. The panel ruled that constitutional rights to a fair trial do not "allow defendants to use the court as a forum to air their political, religious, and moral beliefs and appeal to the passions of the jury."

On August 3, 1984, however, the Minnesota supreme court, in the case of *State* v. *Brechon*, struck down the special court's order and gave the Honeywell protesters the right to invoke their political beliefs in defense of their actions. Although it appeared to acknowledge that the protesters' politics ought to have no bearing on the matter of their guilt or innocence, the state's high court nonetheless declared that a trial judge cannot exclude political testimony but can only advise jurors to "disregard defendants' subjective motives." At most, then, the judge is allowed to lock the door after the theft of the horse.

Since the Minnesota supreme court's decision, juries have acquitted many of those arrested at Honeywell. In several cases, prosecutors dropped the charges before trial, because, said one, they "did not think it wise to spend that much taxpayers' money to allow the defendants to get up and give their spiel about nuclear war."

Similar organized mass trespass continues against other Minnesota defense contractors. Applying the reasoning of the *Brechon* decision, a St. Paul judge allowed 31 protesters on trial for trespass against a Sperry plant to seek to excuse their behavior on the basis of their opposition to Sperry's production of missile-guidance systems for the government. Again, the actual trespass was admitted. Still, a jury in April 1985 acquitted all the defendants.

A few months earlier, in October 1984, Barb Katt and John LaForge, arrested in connection with the Sperry computer incident, were tried in US District Court on a charge of destroying property being manufactured for the US government. At their trial, the two did not deny that they had destroyed the computer. Instead, they used the same strategy as the Honeywell protesters. Over the prosecutor's objections that "appeals to passion and prejudice" do not belong in a criminal trial, US District Judge Miles Lord allowed them to present their political motives.

Ms. Katt and Mr. LaForge contended that "international law" justified their destruction of property that would be used for US defense efforts. This time, however, the jury did not accept the apologia and convicted the defendants of the crime charged, for which they could have been sentenced to 10 years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

The jury verdict notwithstanding, Judge Lord released the defendants with a six-month "suspended sentence." In a prepared statement read in his courtroom on November 8, 1984, explaining his decision, the judge expressed sympathy for the political objectives of the defendants, whom he called "friends of the people," and attacked the defense industry as "warmongers." Continuing, he lauded the "more sanctified endeavor" of the convicted pair, "who by their acts attempt to counsel moderation and mediation as an alternative method of settling international disputes."

Judge Lord then excoriated Sperry employees for having allegedly "stole[n] $3.6 million worth of property" by embezzlement from the US government and "wrongfully and feloniously juggling the books." No one at Sperry was ever convicted of or even prosecuted for such an offense. The failure to punish Sperry officials for this alleged crime, said the judge, gave him a "clear conscience" in freeing Katt and LaForge.

Sperry defendants Katt and LaForge have claimed inspiration from the thought and actions of noted antiwar activist Daniel Berrigan. Along with his brother, Philip, and several others, Berrigan was convicted of burglary and other crimes for illegally entering a General Electric plant near Philadelphia in 1981 and damaging hydrogen bomb components. Like the Minnesota protesters, the Berrigan group granted the pertinent facts but sought exoneration on the grounds of their disapproval of US defense policies. The trial judge allowed them to present their political views in court. On appeal, however, they claimed that they also should have been permitted to present the testimony of purported experts on the consequences of nuclear war. In February 1984, a Pennsylvania appellate court agreed and ordered a new trial.

While the Minnesota and Pennsylvania decisions condoned violations of property rights, nothing in their reasoning limits the types of crimes to which they would apply. If lawbreakers have what are deemed by judges or juries acceptable political motives for violating a private business's property rights, could not these same offenders or others commit violent crimes against the beleaguered firm's employees or executives? Some courts appear to have answered affirmatively.

Several courts in recent years have refused to extradite Irish Republican

Army (IRA) members charged with or convicted by British courts of violent crimes. In the most notorious of these cases, New York US District Judge John E. Sprizzo on December 12, 1984, rejected a request to order the return of IRA activist Joseph Patrick Thomas Doherty, who had escaped from prison and wound up in Manhattan after being convicted by a British court of murdering a British army captain.

Judge Sprizzo found the crime "political" and thus not subject to extradition under the relevant treaty with Great Britain. He ruled that the use of violence was not "in itself dispositive" of whether an act is political or criminal in nature.

Political ideology should have no role in determining one's guilt or innocence.

Further, "the Court is not persuaded by the fact that the current political administration in the US has strongly condemned terrorist acts." Judge Sprizzo held that the IRA was engaged in a "sporadic and informal mode of warfare" against the British and that the killing would not have been criminal if it had "occurred during the course of traditional hostilities." In addition, the IRA has the requisite "organization, discipline, and command structure" so that "the act of its members can constitute political conduct."

Like Judge Lord, Judge Sprizzo cast blame upon the victim of the crime. "The death of Captain Westmacott, while a most tragic event, occurred in the context of an attempted ambush of a British army patrol. It was the British Army's response to that action that gave rise to Captain Westmacott's death." Indeed, any concern for the victims of the crimes is conspicuously absent from all these decisions. Individuals and businesses pursuing activities that were lawful but regarded as unacceptable by lawbreakers were in effect ruled unworthy of protection by the law.

The Doherty case demonstrates that even terrorists can successfully evade punishment by claiming a political objective for their acts. Is any crime, any brutality, perpetrated for a professed political end to be immune from legal penalties? Judge Sprizzo himself recoiled at the notion and decided that international law should determine those crimes, such as the Auschwitz atrocities and the My Lai killings, that should be proscribed.

Yet judges have no authority to elevate international law over federal and state constitutions and laws. Moreover, there is little agreement about what constitutes international law, and the vague standard it offers is an invitation to judicial license. For example, in freeing the Sperry defendants, Judge Lord saw a "plausible argument that international law prohibits what our country is doing by way of manufacturing mass weapons of destruction."

Despite the travesty in IRA activist Doherty's case, indiscriminate extradition should be anathema to anyone concerned with protecting individual liberties. Those convicted abroad of exercising what in the United States would be freedom of speech or religion should not be shipped off to criminal punishments. The US government and courts should also protect revolutionaries, like the Afghan mujaheddin, struggling against totalitarianism.

It is quite another matter, however, for courts to make the United States a sanctuary for terrorists convicted of violent crimes by courts of democratic states in accordance with due process of law. In June 1985, the United States and Great Britain signed an amended extradition treaty that would eliminate political immunity from extradition for persons committing violent crimes, hijacking, and hostage-taking. The Senate has failed thus far to ratify the treaty.

With courts permitting lawbreaking peace protesters and IRA terrorists to benefit from their political opinions, why shouldn't others have the same opportunity?

What do do, for example, about illegal activity against abortion clinics by persons opposed on religious and moral grounds to abortion? Fairness and the Fourteenth Amendment's equal-protection clause seem to require that they be extended the same rights granted the other lawbreakers.

This is not to argue that those ill-disposed toward abortion, any more than peace protesters or IRA terrorists, should be exempt from punishment for their offenses. The enforcement of the law and the protection of the rights of others should not depend upon the existence or nature of a given defendant's (or judge's or jury's) political ideology.

The judges who handed down these rulings have evinced contempt for the impartial administration of justice and callousness for the individual rights of crime victims. Even more, they sanctioned assaults, by those unable to prevail through democratic procedures, against the constitutional processes that are the basis of our political freedoms.

The judges all failed to acknowledge the many legal ways in democratic societies to bring about changes in government policies. In the United States (and in Great Britain as well), those advocating unilateral disarmament, changes in the status of Northern Ireland, or any other political position have ample opportunity to speak out, demonstrate lawfully, and influence the electoral process through financial contributions and political organizing. They have no need or excuse to commit murder or violate the rights of others in lesser ways in order to express their views.

Even terrorists can evade punishment by claiming a political objective for their acts.

Indeed, an August 1984 decision of the 7th Circuit US Court of Appeals emphasized the availability of "reasonable, legal alternative[s] to violating the law" in rejecting an appeal by a group convicted of illegally entering military property to stage an antinuclear demonstration.

As was illustrated in the Sacco and Vanzetti case, allowing political ideology to infect the judicial process can be a double-edged sword. With more conservative judges filling federal-court vacancies, giving politics free rein in the courts could, in the future, lead to convictions of leftist activists in otherwise doubtful cases. Future opponents of US defense and foreign policies, rather than being lauded by judges for their political and moral motivations for breaking the law, could be placed in jeopardy because of their ideologies.

Some may find good sport in the prospect of hoisting the left with its own petard. Yet this would only compound the damage the judicial process has already suffered from rulings giving precedence to political ideology (and political prejudice) over the law. The cure for this damage is not a succession of new Sacco and Vanzetti cases but a restoration of the primacy of the rule of law. Politics should be banished from the courtroom. ◻

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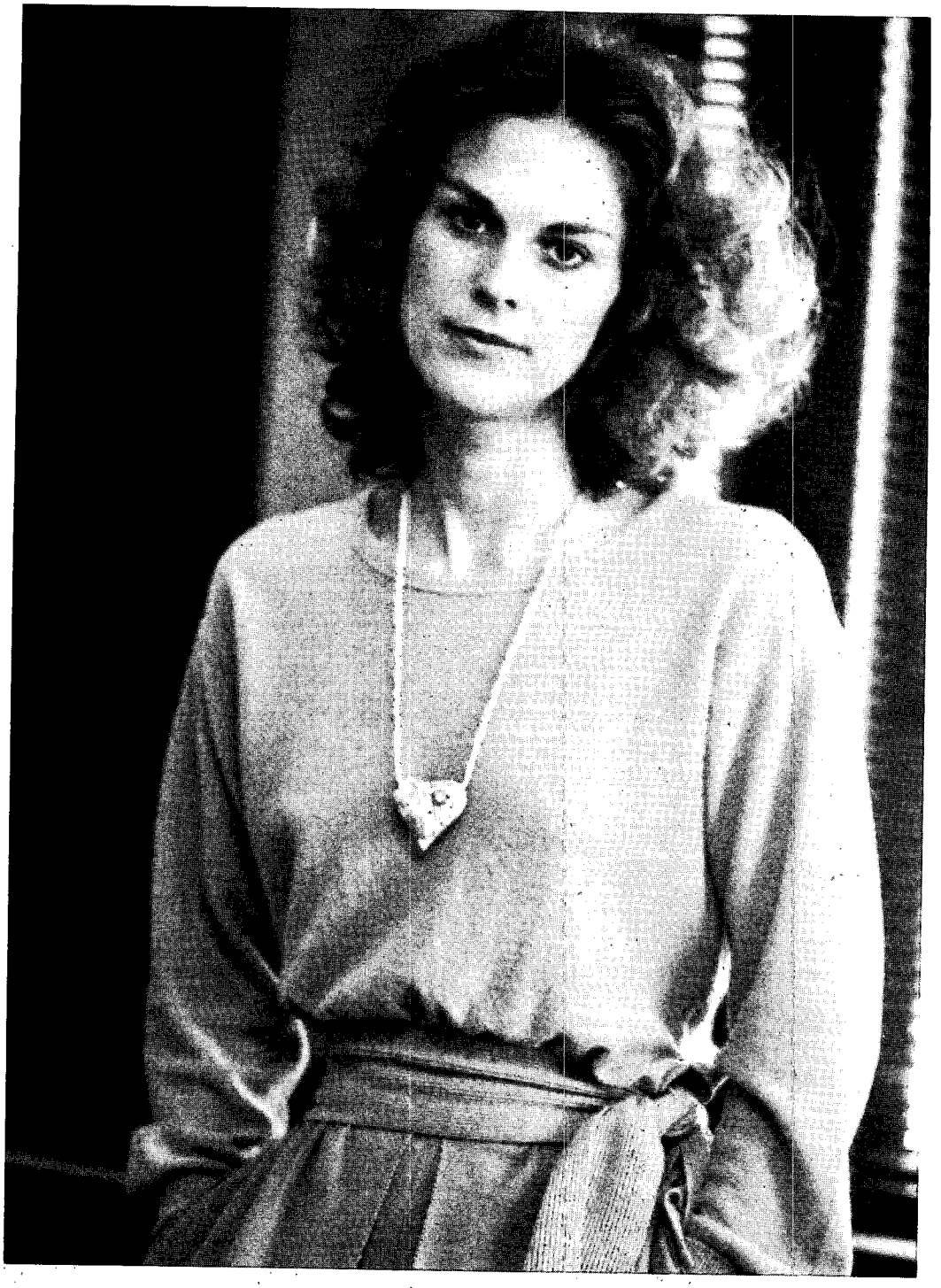

Photographs by Bill Hogan

Christie Hefner

The image of Playboy *is the polar opposite of the image of the woman who runs the magazine, Christie Ann Hefner.* Playboy, *despite changes, still conjures up the fluffy '50s sex fantasy through its racy cartoons and pictures of nude women. Created by Christie's father, Hugh Hefner, in 1953, the magazine popularized "skin" and gave birth to a generation of readily available sexually explicit publications.*

Hefner fille, *wearing little makeup and conservatively suited, is a picture of American wholesomeness. At 33, she has been called "Playboy Enterprises' purest face." An ardent feminist to boot, she nevertheless objects to the feminist claim that pornography as such exploits women. "If Christie Hefner had not existed," a former Playboy Enterprises president once quipped, "the first thing I'd do is invent her."*

She joined the magazine in 1975 with no business or management experience. Hefner had a degree in literature from Brandeis University and a year's experience as a writer for a Boston alternative paper when she became assistant to the chairman at Playboy. She was later promoted to corporate vice-president and a member of the board of directors before becoming president in 1982 and chief operating officer in 1984.

Hefner has to earn her $193,000-a-year salary, coping with some of the roughest times in Playboy*'s 32-year history. Her challenge: to rebuild the magazine's eroding circulation and nudge Playboy's other enterprises to appeal to the changing male in a postfeminist era.*

Hefner was interviewed recently in her office by Fern Schumer Chapman, a Chicago writer.

Reason: Did *Playboy* spark the sexual revolution, or did it ride on the revolution's coattails?

Hefner: It's hard to say definitively which came first, but I think it's fair to say that if *Playboy* had never existed, the pressures and circumstances and other factors were there that would have created a sexual revolution anyway. On the other hand, *Playboy* became a major communication vehicle and force within that, so it's a little bit as if Edison had never lived, would somebody have invented the light bulb? Yes. But he had a profound impact by having done that.

The aspect of the revolution, if you will, that *Playboy* contributed, that it would have been hard for someone else to do, was a mass-circulation magazine being as provocative as *Playboy* has always been on a whole host of issues—certainly sexual, but also the war, drugs, race relations, lesbian rights. I mean a whole litany that you wouldn't expect to find as an agenda if you moved outside of the small-circulation magazines.

Reason: Would *Playboy* survive in the marketplace without pictures?

Hefner: If *Playboy* didn't have pictures?

Reason: Right.

Hefner: It would probably still be the largest-selling men's magazine, because I think it clearly far surpasses a magazine like *Esquire* in the quality and range of its writing. The *Playboy* interview. *Playboy* won among all magazines the best-fiction award last year, and I think it has consistently presented quality fiction, which few magazines do present. The quality of the articles, whether it's investigative journalism or profile journalism. The columnists, whether it's the men and women columns or Dan Jenkins on sports. I'd say it's the best writing around and covers the best range of interests.

But part of what makes *Playboy* so extraordinary is its willingness to say that you don't have to choose between intellectual interests and sexual interests, as a full human being, and that a magazine can reflect that range. That is its philosophy as much as anything [Hugh] Hefner ever wrote in the pages of it. So without pictures, it wouldn't be *Playboy*, because what *Playboy* is, is a unique commitment to the idea that as full human beings, we ought to be able to be open about our erotic interests as well as be knowledgeable politically and be interested in enhancing our lifestyle.

Reason: But would you have a readership without pictures?

Hefner: I think it still would be the best-selling magazine, but it would have a smaller circulation. If it had *all* pictures it would sell fewer copies, if it had *no* pictures it would sell fewer copies.

Reason: How much overlap is there between your readership and hard-core magazines such as *Swank*?

Hefner: I'd say very little. First of all, the majority of *Playboy*'s readers are subscribers. And the people who are subcribers—and it's true of magazine subcribers generally—are more often than

not married, are in their early thirties, and are college-educated. They may read *Time* or *Business Week*, but they don't read hard-core magazines.

The minority of *Playboy* readers who are newsstand purchasers, a minority of *that* minority will pick up another magazine. But from all of the research that I have seen, they don't pick it up because it's a substitute. They pick it up because any magazine with an audience as large as *Playboy*'s is going to include some people who have a desire for hard-core pornography. Just like some of the audience at *Playboy* is also interested in tennis, and they will buy a tennis magazine.

If you were looking for explicit sexual experience, you'd have to be pretty stupid to buy *Playboy*, given what else is out there. When we do research, whether it's with *Playboy* magazine readers or Playboy video watchers, one of the things you find is, they don't expect *Playboy* to have explicit sex. In fact, I think they'd be shocked if it did. Even people who will buy a sexually explicit magazine don't expect it or want it in *Playboy*, because *Playboy* is making a different kind of statement. It's talking about a lifestyle in which the sex is romantic and tasteful, and it's not the same kind of attitude toward sex as is in another magazine.

Reason: Still, *Playboy* has become more explicit over the years, and I assume that's in some effort to compete with the...

Hefner: It's the same reason why films are more explicit than they were 20 years ago. Society has changed. I grew up at a time when *Midnight Cowboy* was X-rated! Today, *Midnight Cowboy* could at least be in the running for a PG-13. But look at what's in R-rated films today. That's not because R-rated films are competing with X-rated films—it's because our attitudes about nudity and sexuality have changed a lot since the '50s and early '60s. And any media that is of the culture is going to change as those attitudes change.

Reason: How would you characterize *Playboy*'s politics?

Hefner: Well, I'd like to say liberal, but that's gone so out of favor that I hesitate to use the word. And in fact if you polled the readers of the magazine, you would find *libertarian* would probably be a more apt description than *liberal*. There's a strong pro-individual, antigovernment element—in the sense of government controlling individuals' lives—that has

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very much been there in the magazine. Interestingly, for example, although the magazine editorially supports gun control, probably the majority of our readers do not, and they don't because for them *not having* gun control is more consistent with the other issues which they relate to and which the magazine relates to—which is individual choice and the recognition that when there may be the abuse of that, whether it's alcohol abuse or First Amendment-press abuse, it's always better to err on the side of freedom than government intervention in individuals' lives. So, I guess *liberal-libertarian* would be probably the best description.

Reason: Would you call yourself a libertarian?

Hefner: I'd actually call myself pretty much a liberal. A progressive liberal. Because I do think that government is there to be a provider of services for people who cannot provide for themselves. I don't think that government has been efficient at it, but it's been inefficient at defense too, and I don't hear a lot of people arguing that the government should get out of the defense business. They just argue about how government should be in it. You could find a whole lot of issues where the libertarian position is my position too, but I'm supportive of programs that I perceive the traditional libertarian philosophy not to be supportive of: Aid to Families with Dependent Children, medical programs, educational programs, job-training programs.

Reason: Would you say that *Playboy* exploits women?

Hefner: No, and I don't think anybody who really thinks about it would come to that conclusion. It's one of those cliches that you get to repeating without really thinking about it.

It's not exploitive of the model. These are women who very much enjoy the experience with *Playboy*, who are very well compensated for it, and work under better conditions than most women who work in the fashion-model business.

Exploitive could also mean that which in its message is violent or demeaning in a way that is hurtful. But if *Playboy* wanted to publish pictures that were exploitive, it would have published the pictures of Vanessa Williams. These were pictures taken of a woman who clearly never intended to have them published, who clearly was going to be hurt by their publication, who had a special other kind of social significance as the first black Miss America. The pictures were brought to *Playboy*, and we wouldn't publish them.

Reason: Was that your decision?

Hefner: It was everybody's decision. There was absolute unanimity. Hefner, me, the editors—nobody wanted to publish them. It was very obvious what publishing them would do. It would sell a lot of magazines, and it would really hurt this woman. And if you believe, as Hefner has always believed, that you can

celebrate sexuality in nude photography, that you can make it a *positive*, that you can take it away from violence, take it away from exploitation, then the last thing you do is publish pictures that are going to hurt somebody.

The absence of anything that is violent or demeaning and the romance of the pictures in the magazine are so clear for 30 years that, especially in an environment where there are so many images that are exploitive, many of them nude, many of them not nude, if you're willing to accept that nudity in and of itself is not exploitive, then I don't know what kind of erotic pictures you could run that would be not exploitive if you think *Playboy*'s pictures are exploitive. Then everything—Calvin Klein jeans ads, everything in *Vogue*, everything that has a woman looking sexy—is exploitive. *Or* if you say, "No, that's not true, there's got to be a difference," then you really need to make that difference. When you talk about *Playboy* being exploitive, then you are using a word that is inappropriate, unless, as I say, you truly think that everything that surrounds women and sexuality is in and of itself exploitive.

Reason: How has the magazine evolved since you've become a leader here?

Hefner: Well, implicit in that question is the assumption that it's evolved *because* I've become a leader. To some extent that's true, but it's more subtle than direct. I don't confer with the editors or direct the editorial policy. I know in advance what we're going to publish, but I don't read the articles, I don't review the graphics, I don't sit down in editorial meetings. In that sense, I'm much more like a businessperson. I assume that the creative people are putting out absolutely the best magazine they can, and I try and get involved at a much broader level—Do we really know what the readers are thinking? and, Are we contemporary for 1986 as opposed to 1976?

I do think the magazine has changed in the years since I've been here, and perhaps in some subtle way, the fact that the company has a president who is a woman makes people think more often about how greatly the roles of women, and therefore the relationship between men and women, have changed over the last few years. Maybe the best place you could see that in the magazine would be to read, over the course of the last year, the Asa Baber and Cynthia Heimel columns, which run every month. I think it's wonderful writing, but that's just a subjective viewpoint. But if you wanted to get a sense of what *Playboy* thinks are the issues surrounding men and women today and their relationship, you'll get it from those two columns.

Those columns wouldn't have run a decade ago. The presumption would have been that the way you talk about men and women in *Playboy* is sexual. Now there's a much greater sense, and you see it in articles as well as in the columns, of talking about relationships. Not just sexual relationships—work relationships, love relationships.

Reason: Do you ever wake up in the morning and look at yourself in the mirror and say, "Christie, how could you be doing this?"—in terms of being a woman and putting out this particular publication?

Hefner: Quite the contrary. Only people who don't take the time to understand *Playboy* would even have that question. If you interviewed people across this company—the woman who is the fiction editor of *Playboy*, the woman who's the cartoon editor, the woman who's the controller, the man who's the general counsel—you would find people who have very much the same personal and political agenda and goals that I have. The people who relate to *Playboy*, both readers and people who produce it, are not the way the critics think they are. Now, I'm not saying that people don't have a right to criticize the magazine, but at the very least acknowledge the fact that if you really read the magazine, if you really talk to the people who produce it, if you really look at the research on what the views of the readers are, you would find absolute consistency of support for the same things that I believe in: greater equality between the sexes, a sane international foreign policy, a more liberal-libertarian view vis-à-vis the individual and government that you wouldn't find at most women's publications, most newsweeklies, most business magazines—never mind most television and film companies. So there are many comfortable things about what this company stands for.

Perhaps in some subtle way, the fact that the company has a president who is a woman makes people think more often about how greatly the roles of women have changed.

And then, of course, because I'm the president, I get to do things like set policy as to how employees are treated and what we do in terms of community relations. And that also is sort of nice. I once was talking to a woman from the *Washington Post* and was telling her about some of the things we've done with flex-time and part-time benefits and stuff, and she said, "God, I wish Katharine Graham did half those things at the *Post*." There's no guarantee that somebody because they are a woman will be more sensitive than a man. So it's nice, on that other level of "How do you feel when you go to bed at night?" to feel good about that.

Reason: What do you think of feminist efforts to ban or restrict the display and dissemination of pornography?

Hefner: Well, I think it's an enormous error of judgment, both in misunderstanding what impact pornography has on society and in misunderstanding what laws like that would be used to do. On the latter, the reason why a lot of feminists have now become so outspoken *against* that effort is because censorious laws are interpreted by the people with power in society, not the people without power. It was only the '70s when Bill Baird was arrested for talking about contraception in front of an audience that included a woman with a baby—and he was arrested for contributing to the delinquency of a minor. So if you think that laws that have to do with sexuality are going to be interpreted by feminists, that's very naive. If you think that the first things that are gone after are not things related to abortion and lesbianism, that's a very naive understanding of the process. So that's one perspective that I have that I think a lot of feminists share.

On the impact of pornography on

society, the rhetoric has so overwhelmed the reality that there is no reasonableness applied to the subject at all anymore. If, for example, the president of the United States really wanted to have a useful commission on pornography, one would have thought that what the commission would be doing is updating the research that the 1970 Commission on Pornography and Obscenity did. That would mean original research, reviewing research that has been done in the interim, looking at what's happened in Denmark and other countries that have liberalized pornography laws, and coming out with a thoughtful report. Instead, the commission has no budget for research and has been traipsing around the country listening to individuals give their life stories, which is anecdotal evidence that has no validity. It would be like deciding whether or not to go back to Prohibition by having people come forward, and some people would tell terrible stories about being beaten up by a husband who was drunk or having their child killed by a drunk driver. I don't want to take away from the seriousness of those problems, but they don't have anything to do with the cause and effect of pornographic images in society.

And what happens is that people take the substrata of pornography that is out there that is really ugly and violent—or child pornography, which everybody recoils from—and then use that as a springboard. If you're considering *Playboy* pornography, and you're trying to suggest that *Playboy* leads to wife abuse, you're on such completely quicksand footing that it's only by not paying any attention to the real research that you can even begin to make that kind of leap.

Reason: Is *Playboy* a victim of harder-core pornography?

Hefner: There's no question that before the other magazines existed it was easier to see *Playboy* for what it is, which is a sophisticated men's magazine. It says a lot about our society that we think that because 20 percent of *Playboy* is sexual, it's a skin magazine. But that's a function of how obsessive we are as a society about sex. We talk about there being a sexual revolution, but that's only in some areas. You look at the level of nudity that's in advertising and on television in other Western countries, it's dramatically different from in this country. You don't diminish the interest in pornography by passing laws against it. In fact, evidence would suggest the contrary. In Denmark, where they've liberalized laws for all pornography for adults, the major market for pornography is tourists.

If *Playboy* wanted to publish pictures that were exploitive, it would have published the pictures of Vanessa Williams.

Reason: What do you think of the feminist movement today?

Hefner: It's very unfocused right now. A number of things have kind of conspired to slow down progress in the political arena of the women's movement. Among them, the fact that we clearly have in Washington right now the most inhospitable administration to women's rights that we've had in my lifetime. And that's very hard to reckon with. At the same time, the most visible leaders of the women's movement are now in an older generation—I don't mean senior citizens, but they're in the next generation. And we haven't done a very good job of finding a way to nurture a younger generation of women leaders.

The other thing that seems to have happened is there's this whole generation of women, the people who are in college now, who don't seem to feel at all either beholden to the women's movement or necessarily supportive of it. This is an overstatement, but I think there's a lot of truth to it. They don't realize—at least this is my assessment—how (*a*) hard-won and (*b*) tenuous are the gains that the women's movement achieved and therefore how absolutely necessary it is for that generation of women to get connected in some way to continuing the process.

That's all sort of the bleak news. The one kind of countervailing and positive thing that has happened is that in many ways the women's movement has moved its arena from the public to the private. So what's happening in people's personal lives and the way young women and young men relate to each other, in the workforce, at home, and so on, is profoundly different than a generation before in the most positive sense. I'm not saying that it's an ideal. You can get to certain issues—for example, the raising of children, where I think we have hardly begun to build a society that supports the rights of both men and women to pursue their own personal talents and supports the nurturing of a family. I think we still sort of say, "Yes, we know women work, but you'll solve the problem when you want to have children."

So there are real weaknesses that have not been addressed, but if you step back from those for a moment—and I am admittedly a person who tends to see the brighter side of things, but I think even if you factor out my innate optimism—we've come a very long way from where we were. And that's very much a result of the rhetoric of the women's movement and the impact it had on the consciousness of women and men who have rethought and maybe even without being able to articulate it have adjusted their views of themselves, their possibilities, their roles, and their relationships.

Reason: What has been *Playboy*'s effect in all of this?

Hefner: Interestingly, to some extent, it's a little bit like with the Vietnam war. *Playboy* was the first magazine that gave a forum for the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. And John Kerry and a lot of people wrote for the magazine. But the thing that made it different was that *Playboy* was the magazine that the guys who had gone over, and especially the guys who had enlisted, were reading. It would have been one thing if *The Nation* had been running John Kerry. Apart from the circulation level, it's a different kind of thing—a magazine that is accessible to a young man, that he relates to, because he *does* feel that it's reflecting a positive attitude, a view that life is something to be enjoyed, that's fun, that can be pleasurable. And that this is not a bad thing, it's a good thing. And a political conscience is a part of that. I think it has a much different effect.

Now, moving to your question, I don't think that what *Playboy* does on these issues is going to fuel the women's movement or affect women at all. The women who read the magazine don't read it because they're looking for the articula-

tion of a feminist blueprint. But when *Playboy* covers women's issues, whether it's a piece on rape or a piece on lesbian custody or a piece on abortion, its impact on the 11 million men who read the magazine is, I think, very profound—because it's *in Playboy*. You could put that same piece in *Ms.* or even a large-circulation women's magazine, and it isn't going to have the same impact. So, it's in that sense a great communication vehicle of ideas and attitudes.

Reason: Is your readership changing?

Hefner: Not a lot. It's the same demographically, but different psychographically. The reader is the same young, college-educated man that he was in the '50s. He's about 31 now, he was 27 then, but that's the population shift. But a 30-year-old today has a whole lot of different attitudes and interests than a 30-year-old in the '50s. A different relationship with women in his life, different attitude toward leisure time, I think a different political orientation. In that sense, the audience is very definitely changing.

Reason: Of course, there's been the introduction of video and VCRs, and I'm sure that that's had a profound effect as well on *Playboy*.

Hefner: All magazines, or almost all magazines, have been declining in newsstand sales while growing in overall sales. And generally it's assumed that newsstand sales are more of an impulse item—you know, you're going home from work and you decide to buy a magazine, as opposed to "I want to get every issue of this magazine from a subscription." And it's not unreasonable to think that some of what's hurting all magazines on the newsstand is that if you're going home from work, for $3.50 you can rent a video. As people are putting more of their discretionary time, even more than money, into these options such as videocassettes and pay cable television, that's time away from reading. And certainly from newsstand purchases. And I think we're hurt by that, as is everybody. But not, and perhaps this is part of what you're thinking, because of the availability of explicit sexual material in video. There was already so much explicit material available in print that that segment of the audience is not likely to be with *Playboy*.

Interestingly, in our own video that we are doing, at least the very early results are showing that the two media can support each other instead of cannibalizing each other. We can do video versions of the magazine on cassette and not have

A positive thing that has happened is that in many ways the women's movement has moved its arena from the public to the private.

cannibalization, because the experiences are still very different. A good magazine has to have a kind of depth to what you're getting that's never there in video. The *Playboy* interview in the print magazine is going to give you the feeling, if it's a good interview, and I think most of ours are great, that you really have some insight into who this person is and that they've revealed something of themselves to you. In a television interview, if you've talked as long on television as we do in print, I mean, people would be asleep except for the mother of the person you are interviewing! On the other hand, you can see the person, you can get some feeling for how they respond and react, you can see something of how they live. So it's a different kind of communication, even though it's literally the same feature. It appeals to different kinds of interests.

Reason: You have changed the Playboy Clubs to be more appealing to women. Are you trying to do this with the magazine too?

Hefner: The two are not really related. In the club area, one of the things that I realized was that Playboy Clubs hadn't ever changed since they were introduced in 1960. In 1960, people who went out to clubs and bars were almost exclusively men. In the 1980s, a significant number, if not more than half of the people who go out, are women. And they are women who go out with their friends or their boyfriends, and either way, if you've created a club or bar environment to which women do not want to go, you are pretty much assured of failure. So, what we wanted to do was to create a club environment that had an appeal to women as well as to men. We did a lot of things in that regard—the way that we lit the room, the band, and obviously the rabbits. If we were going to say, "Look, a part of the Playboy Club ambiance is that there are these attractive, nice people who are hanging around to wait on you," then if the only attractive, nice people hanging around to wait on you are these good-looking women in these very revealing costumes, then why, as a woman, would you be inclined to want to hang out there?

The difference with the magazine is that we have no intention, and from a business point of view it would be suicidal, to make the magazine a magazine for couples. Because the reality of magazines are that they seem to be more personal forms of expression, with a more specific audience. Magazines that are dual-audience work because they have a strong subject matter, like *Tennis* or *Chicagoan*, and magazines that try to cover the range of information and entertainment that *Playboy* does need to have a more special viewpoint, or they will, by trying to be something for everybody, wind up being nothing for anybody.

I do think that as attitudes change, it is possible to have some erotic, romantic photography in the magazine that has men in it as well as women. Now, you can't have a photograph of a man that has frontal nudity without getting such a visceral reaction from men that it's really extraordinary. The whole rating code in the film business is built around the degree of male nudity. I think that why women are sensitive about *Playboy*, and why the whole question of exploitation comes up, is in part because as a culture we're surrounded by images of women that are sexual and there's almost a complete absence of images of men that are sexual. That makes women more sensitive about being looked at sexually.

I wish somebody had done a really good magazine for women that had erotic content instead of *Playgirl*, and every once in a while I think that we should do it. From a business point of view, I'm sure that there's enough of a market there. It would be wonderful if there were a magazine for women that had the intelligence and quality that *Playboy* has. A magazine that acknowledges that women are also sexual and that this is a positive, not a negative. Maybe that will be done. ◧

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All this information, plus the techniques that previously have been known to only a few people is available for only $49 normal retail price.

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By Mark Skousen

Has Reagan Pulled It Off?

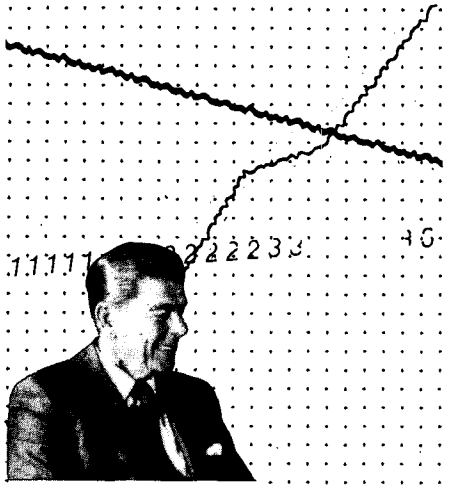
How was it that the hard-money inflationists went wrong in the 1980s? Here we are in the sixth year of the "Reagan Eighties," and there's still no sign of the double-digit inflation, let alone runaway inflation, that the inflationist camp predicted. Nor have there been 3 percent interest rates or a deflationary collapse.

Has Reagan pulled it off, as economist Art Laffer has suggested? Practically all we hear nowadays is good economic news. Interest rates are down, inflation is low, the stock market is roaring, and no recession is in sight. We have witnessed a gradual shift from the "shortage" inflationary economy of the seventies to the "surplus" disinflationary economy of the eighties. And gold, the bellwether of bad news, is selling for under $400 an ounce in a year that many gold bugs were predicting it would reach $2,000!

Certainly, this wasn't the vision seen by the hard-money doomsayers, such as Howard Ruff (*How to Prosper During the Coming Bad Years*), Doug Casey (*Crisis Investing*), and Jerome Smith (*The Coming Currency Collapse*). Smith, for example, warned in late 1979, "The accelerating double-digit inflation rate of the 1970's (now around 15 percent) will lead to triple-digit inflation and destruction of the dollar in the 1980's." Doug Casey argued that "a hyperinflation is almost inevitable." And Howard Ruff suggested that after the 1981-82 recession, "you will see a runaway inflationary spiral. . . . Sooner or later, the American currency will collapse."

But something happened as the gold bugs headed for the hills. Ronald Reagan was elected president with a mandate to control runaway inflation. And Paul Volcker, chairman of the Federal Reserve, announced, "We are going to end inflation and keep the markets guessing." The hard-money camp wasn't listening, but a financial paradigm of disinflationary psychology was about to begin.

Admittedly, the Reagan Revolution was only a marginal shift in government policy, but it was enough to have a dramatic effect on the financial markets. And because it was only a marginal



change, it caught many hard-money investment advisors off guard.

What caused the disinflationary environment of the 1980s, and why will it continue? There are plenty of reasons: The severe 1981-82 recession put major industries in a precarious financial condition from which they are still trying to recover; therefore the Fed's liberal money policy has not been sufficient to create a heated inflationary recovery. The banking industry was deregulated, and the resulting high interest rates discouraged consumption and increased savings, which in the long run creates economic growth. Oil price controls were lifted in 1981, eventually destroying the oil cartel monopoly. High interest rates in the United States created a strong dollar and encouraged a flood of cheap foreign imports. Marginal tax rates were reduced from 70 to 50 percent and long-term capital gains rates to 20 percent or less, which stimulated capital formation and economic growth (despite the increase in taxes for the average American). Finally, the worldwide psychological impact of Reagan's conservative image replaced the appearance of fiscal weakness and lack of leadership under Carter.

Not everyone in the investment business failed to see this new paradigm of the 1980s. For instance, Harry Browne was one of the first financial analysts to abandon gold, silver, and Swiss francs in his speculative portfolio in the early 1980s. In his book, *Inflation-Proofing Your Investments*, he and coauthor Terry Coxon suggested that "inflation's demise is inevitable." Browne's change of heart is even more remarkable considering that he was the first hard-money investment writer to popularize investing in precious metals and foreign currencies in the early 1970s with his books *How to Profit from the Coming Devaluation* and *You Can Profit from a Monetary Crisis*.

But what about the future? We're now in the sixth year of the Reagan Eighties. Is the disinflationary trend about to end? Will interest rates go even lower? Has consumer price inflation bottomed out? Is the bull market nearly over in blue-chip stocks, bonds, and utilities? My opinion is that the trend will continue for perhaps a few more years. Trends always last longer than people expect them to. I think you can expect the stock market to make further gains, even if inflation flares up a bit. I also recommend bonds, but only tax-free municipal bonds: the tax advantage makes them worth the risk.

Nevertheless, there are signs that the "inflationary hedges" are starting to come alive. Hard currencies, such as the Swiss franc, have made significant moves against the dollar, and a rise in the Swiss franc has been a precursor to rising gold prices. (However, I would not recommend silver because of its lackluster performance.) I would not be an aggressive buyer of gold at this time. Wait for a rise in price inflation for that to happen.

My views are best summarized by fellow financial writer Bert Dohmen-Ramirez, who stated recently, "Inflation will not be the problem of the 1980s. Therefore, commodities and precious metals prices will continue to lag behind other markets. This does not necessarily mean gold will plunge to $100, but it does mean that the opportunities in other investment areas, specifically the financial assets of stocks and bonds, will outperform the inflation hedges."

Mark Skousen, a nationally known investment writer, is adjunct professor of finance and economics at Rollins College in Florida.

By John Dentinger

Tom Paine Meets the Walkman

He was named after Oliver Cromwell, but the resemblance stops there. O. C. ("Crom") Carmichael III not only makes a living in the marketplace, he sells some of the better products of the marketplace of ideas through his Audio Classics cassette series.

Carmichael majored in business and minored in economics at Vanderbilt University, but he confesses that "what I now know about economics is self-taught. My economics professors would be disappointed to hear that I didn't learn anything from them, but they'd probably agree."

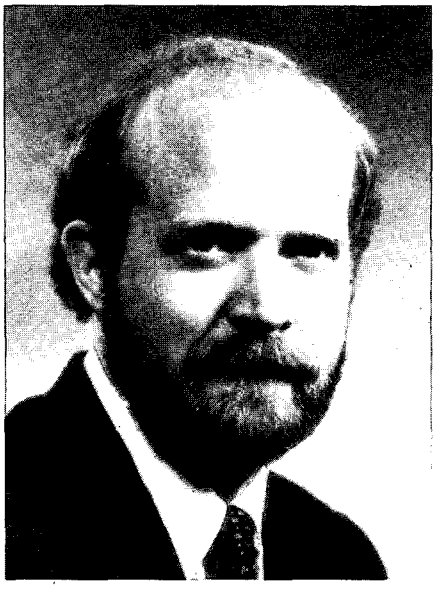
After graduating from Vanderbilt University in 1971, Carmichael went to work for First American National Bank in Nashville, where he spent five years working in various departments as a trouble-shooter, helping them straighten out multimillion-dollar loan problems of different subsidiaries.

In the mid-'70s, remuneration in the banking field was proportional to the amount of imagination needed to survive in the then-heavily regulated banking environment. Carmichael moved on to areas where an individual could make more of a difference—and be rewarded accordingly.

He bought into a small company, Sports Industries of America, which has, over the past eight years, grown to distribute products in 28 states. That firm is now a subsidiary of Carmichael & Carmichael, which Crom owns with his brother. Their various subsidiaries include wholesale distribution of sporting goods, bowling supplies, and other merchandise.

Dealing in tangible goods and brand names was a whole new ball game from marketing something fungible, like bank loans. He was soon to diversify further, however, into retailing the tangible embodiment of something more intangible than cash: ideas.

Six or seven years ago, in the course of reading financial newsletters, Crom became interested in the Austrian school of economics. What set it apart from other economic theories, he says, is that "it made sense. Economics is a function of human motivation—of the way people



O. C. ("Crom") Carmichael III

are, not how we'd like them to be. When it comes to capital investment, that's almost all there is to it. In free enterprise, a loss is limited to the amount investors had to put in—but with government, the loss can be infinite. Prosperity takes human endeavor."

Meanwhile, trying to make use of time spent commuting, Crom experienced the advantages of instructional audio cassettes. In his case, he could drive and listen to talks on financial analysis and other topics. The concept became the basis for Crom's next venture.

A couple of years ago he was at a seminar hosted by the Washington, D.C.-based Cato Institute. He heard libertarian scholar George H. Smith lecture on the American revolution, and the two of them began to talk about producing a series of audio tapes discussing the ideas of the great thinkers of history. The fruit of the discussion was the Audio Classics, a series of tapes edited by Smith that hit the market in the fall of 1985.

The tapes weave historical narrative together with the words of the thinkers Smith selected for the series—an eclectic group spanning the spectrum from Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and Adam Smith to Karl Marx, Edmund Burke, and Machiavelli. Audio Classics, advertised in think magazines as diverse as *National Review*, the *New York Review of Books*, and REASON, has grown to 700 subscribers in its first several months of existence.

Crom contrasts the tapes' approach with the usual approach to teaching history: "When I was in school and studied history, I heard the who, the what, the when, the where—but not the why." The Boston Tea Party, for example, was not simply a protest against a small tax on tea but a protest against the principle that Britain had the authority to levy such a tax at all—and a protest under circumstances in which the tea would shortly have been seized by the colonial government anyway. As Carmichael notes in reference to his twelve-year-old daughter, "The cassettes give her a different perspective on what she's hearing in school."

Carmichael's successive business ventures have been a constant learning experience—learning tied in with his reading of economists. "What Adam Smith says about the wealth of nations is just as true for a business. Each individual business has characteristics different from other businesses," he notes. "That's why division of labor is so important to prosperity. If you don't have someone in charge of each of these specialized functions who really knows that function, you won't be as competitive. A lot of the basic business principles are relevant to the audio publishing field; but there's a lot new, too. It's harder to define the target market as a retailer than as a wholesaler, but we are producing a quality product and making the consumer aware of it."

Carmichael, who is divorced, enjoys spending time with his two children. He also likes golf, playing tennis, skiing, reading—and listening to audio cassettes. He is planning on producing a series of tapes on economists, as well as tapes covering different periods of history. Perhaps if enough of us hear a more-rounded recounting of history than the government-school version, we won't be condemned to repeat it.

John Dentinger is a free-lance writer.

The Spy Who Found Honor

By Craig M. Collins

James Bond fans know that no one but Sean Connery has ever brought dignity to the role. George Lazenby, one of the others who have portrayed Her Majesty's best secret agent, managed an uninspired but sincere portrayal—which is unquestionably better than anything done by Roger Moore. Moore's presumptuous attempts at the role can be dismissed as broad farce. Pee Wee Herman could capture the essence of the role better than Moore. James Bond is a hired killer, a highly efficient and very deadly machine completely amoral except for his absolutely unshakable loyalty to the Crown. His body is like rich, brown leather stretched taut over braided steel-cable muscles. Even if Roger Moore's entire body were run through a juicer, it wouldn't squeeze out enough machismo to fill one of Sean Connery's shoes.

Connery's eyes, like a panther's, are incessantly alert, but his face reveals something about the man within the machine. He's devoted his entire lifetime to developing himself as an agent of death, not for pleasure or money or love or hate, but solely in the name of patriotism. His duty to his country is the *sine qua non* of James Bond. Since emotions are a handicap in his profession, he has exorcised himself of them completely, thus incapacitating him for normal life. If it were somehow important to national security, James Bond could calmly saw through a live kitten with a dull kitchen knife. He has permanently encased in ice that part of his soul which, in other people, allows them to enjoy feelings such as compassion and sympathy. Printed somewhere on his heart are the words, "Keep frozen when not in use."

Although, or perhaps because, he is unable to ride the emotional roller coaster of life, his face perpetually reveals traces of his only remaining emotion: the sadness of realizing, only after it is irrecoverable, what he has lost. Bond is never happy—the closest he could ever come to laughing is an occasional smirk in appreciation of the irony of a particular situation—and for positive emotions he must be content with the self-respect and satisfaction of having done the right thing. All of Bond's personal sacrifices, however, are made understandable, even heroic, because of his all-consuming devotion to the most noble of causes—the triumph of good over evil.

The Equalizer: No longer in service to the state, ex-spy Robert McCall (portrayed by Edward Woodward) now helps equalize the odds for the underdog.

But imagine the extent to which the tragedy of this character would be amplified if, late in life, he not only realized what he has lost but also began to question the sole justification for his entire existence: his patriotism. Perhaps he had not been fighting on the side of good against evil but instead had spent his lifetime committing the most abominable acts imaginable against others, all on behalf of what he now sees is a self-serving, morally ambiguous political entity. His innumerable crimes might not, after all, have been justified by honorable ends. Perhaps his consummate loyalty had been misdirected. *This* tragic figure has found embodiment in Robert McCall, the central character of the CBS series *The Equalizer.*

McCall, portrayed by Edward Woodward (the star of the acclaimed 1980 Australian movie *Breaker Morant*), once worked for a spy ring known only as the "agency," which undoubtedly is intended to be the CIA. In his conversations with an ex-comrade who still works for the agency, McCall hints that he left the agency because, much to his horror, he finally realized that he had committed his many unpardonable sins, all in the name of espionage, for an agency that favored pragmatism over principle and put honor and decency far lower on the list of priorities than face-saving and political expedience. He now suffers the inescapable guilt of an executioner who one day discovers that the judges have been sentencing prisoners not for moral offenses but simply for being inconvenient to the judges' personal interests, and that for most of his life he has sent hundreds of innocent people screaming to their deaths.

It is out of a desperate but pathetically futile attempt to cleanse himself that the now-retired McCall spends all of his days selflessly assisting the world's underdogs, or at least those who answer his newspaper advertisement offering his assistance in equalizing the odds against them. This "good guy to the rescue" stuff sometimes has the flavor of a mouthful of granulated sugar, but in McCall's case the pathos of his situation is compelling.

James Bond and Robert McCall could have been friends except that neither is capable of feeling anything like friendship. Given the type of company they usually keep, their survival depends upon their ability to regard everyone with a coldly analytical degree of suspicion. The warmest interpersonal relationship that either man would ever allow himself is probably something similar to a cordial détente. Both are exceedingly self-confident, and McCall, like Bond, speaks with a British accent. In the figurative sense, they share a common enemy—evil.

One difference between the men, however, is that Bond richly rewards his physical body for faithful service by regularly enjoying fine dining, beautiful women, and other luxurious accommodations. McCall, on the other hand, has transcended these material pleasures. He lives a relatively simple life in a comfort-

ably spacious New York apartment, drives a car that any other moderately successful mature person would drive (a Jaguar sedan), and entertains himself by playing his grand piano alone in his living room. Yet, despite his sadness, he somehow exudes an inner peace infinitely more enviable than any of Bond's material luxuries.

While almost all other television shows glamorize the high-voltage excitement of youth, it's a pleasure to see one that appreciates the serenity of post-middle-age maturity and the heroic dignity of aging with grace. When McCall observes one particularly depraved bad guy indulging his sensual gluttony without restraint—reveling in the charms of a team of prostitutes—he smiles with the satisfaction of a man who has long since been released from the troublesome urges of youth and says to himself, "You're getting old, McCall...thank God."

The Equalizer is clearly not intended for channel-flipping twelve-year-olds with eight-second attention spans, although even they may be able to appreciate the subtle beauty of the show, perhaps without quite knowing why. Regardless of what may happen when the fall season begins, it is remarkable that a new television show in the detective/spy genre, which together with all other shows must struggle in the life-threatening ratings competition, has not (excessively) resorted to the cheap but effective tricks of the trade: bikini-clad bimbos, machine gun–bullet hailstorms, and tire-squealing car chases. Can that be right? No car chases? Somebody must have been snoozing at the network.

The show has not done well in the ratings so far but will rerun in the summer. Its long-term fate is uncertain. But at a time when the English language seems to be adulterated further each day by some new and convenient euphemism —at some point, peep-show proprietors began restricting their products to "mature audiences only," because, to paraphrase comedian Jay Leno, otherwise God forbid some *immature* person might stand in a booth, pants around his ankles, watching some melon-breasted floozies hose each other with whipped cream—it's nice to know there still exists good entertainment that truly *is* for "mature" audiences, in the proper sense of the word. And better yet, it's on network television every week, so you aren't required to drop a quarter in a slot every two minutes to watch it.

Craig Collins is a writer in Chicago.

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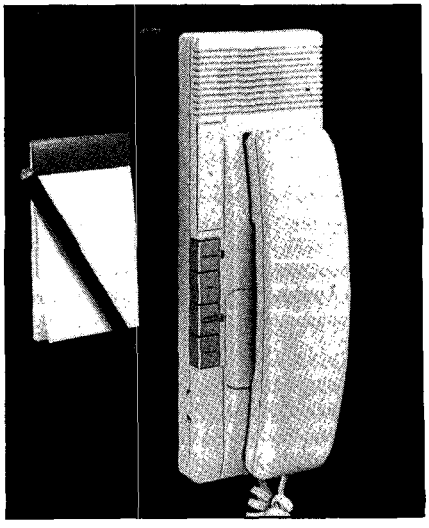

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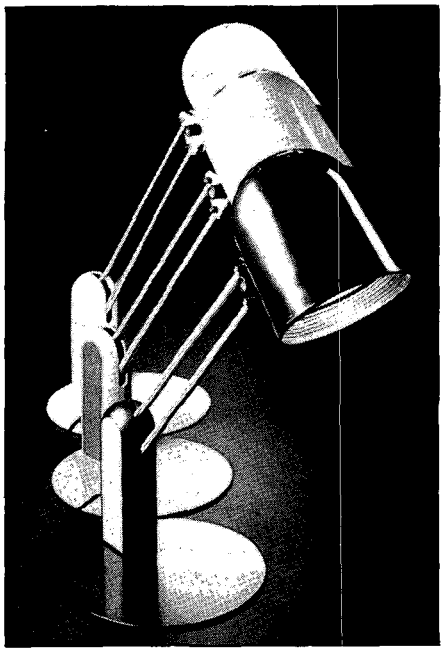

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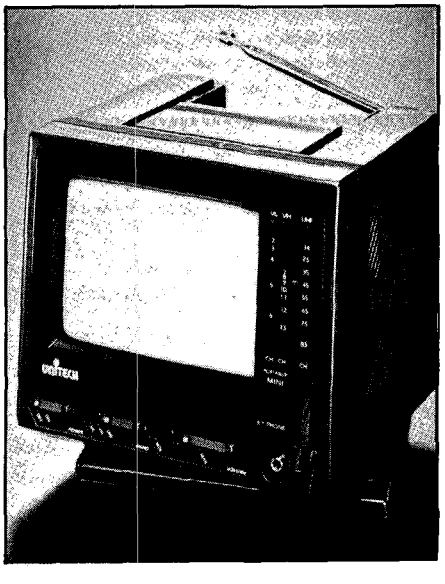

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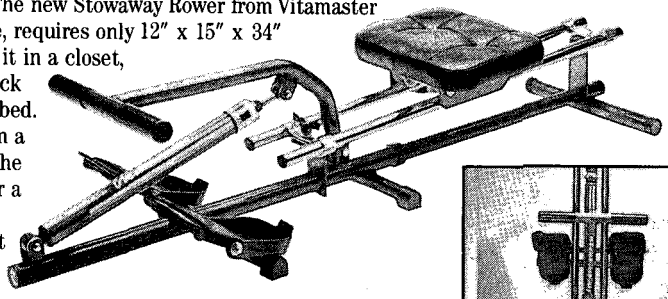

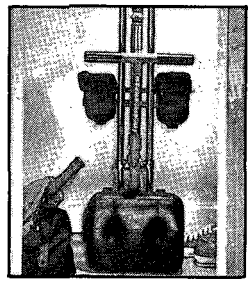

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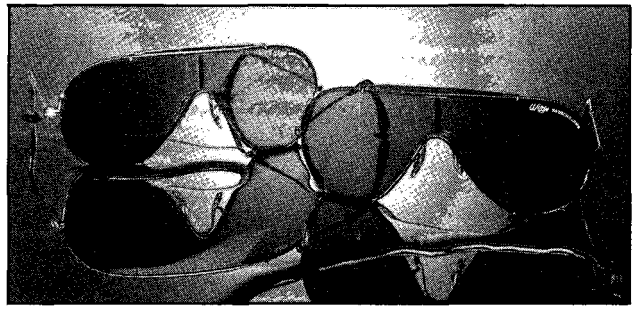
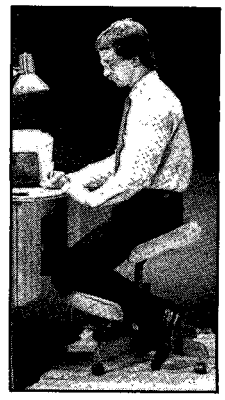


IT SWIVELS!



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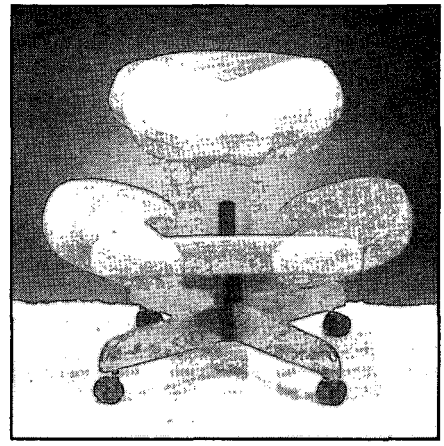

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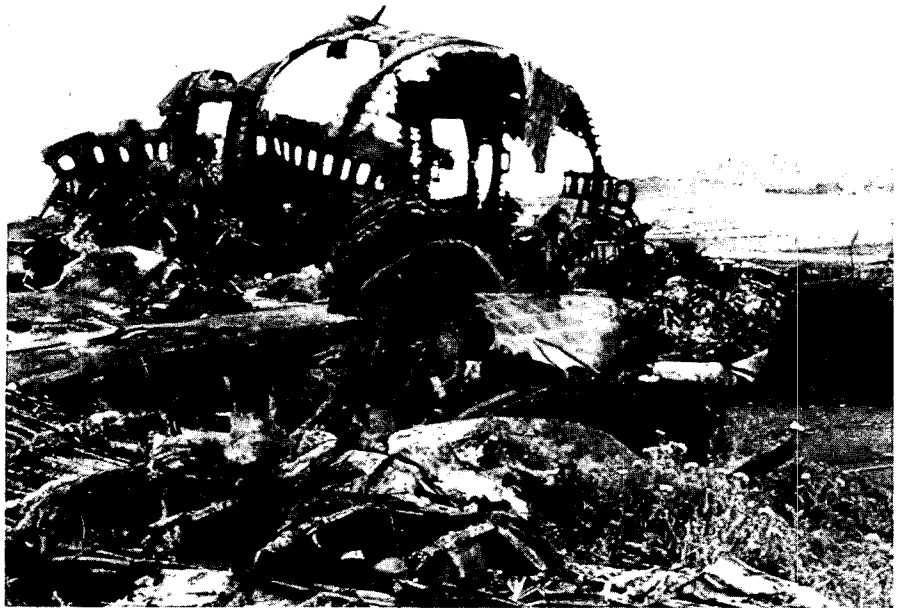
Crashing for Dollars?

By John Doherty

Blind Trust: How Deregulation Has Jeopardized Airline Safety and What You Can Do About It, by John J. Nance, New York: William Morrow, 396 pages, $17.95



Are airline safety and airline profits conflicting goals? Or, put more cynically, are there airline executives out there who think they can make money crashing airplanes? John Nance thinks so, and he's written a book about it called *Blind Trust.*

The argument, which seems to have been largely accepted by the media, goes something like this: Safety measures cost money. To make a profit, airlines have to control costs, thus there is constant pressure on airline managements to skimp on safety. During the era of airline regulation, airlines didn't have to worry so much about costs. But since deregulation, competition has forced ticket prices so low (remember when the argument was that regulation was necessary to protect consumers from high prices?) that airlines can no longer resist the temptation to save money by taking safety risks. The conclusion of this specious argument: Deregulated air travel isn't as safe as regulated air travel.

The kicker is that by any dispassionate measure, airline travel in the United States, both on the big airlines and on the commuters, is much safer now than it was *before* deregulation. According to statistics of the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), the last five years have been safer years to fly than any other five years in aviation history—the saddening accidents of 1985 notwithstanding. Nance, of course, knows this and lawyer-like—he's an attorney as well as a pilot—argues that the statistics don't matter. ("If the facts are against you, argue the law. If the law is against you, argue the facts.") I can imagine, however, that if the statistics indicated flying to be less safe after deregulation, he and other detractors of airline deregulation would find the facts most useful.

Actually, one of the reasons flying is safer now than before deregulation is...deregulation. Airlines compete fiercely to sell tickets. The way to sell tickets is to give consumers what they want, and one of the things airline passengers want more than anything is safe travel. Successful airlines strive mightily to give consumers just that.

Airlines, especially "upstart" airlines, can't survive if they are perceived as being unsafe. Nance gives an excellent recital of the events surrounding the icy Air Florida crash into the Potomac in 1982. Air Florida never recovered from the negative publicity attendant upon the crash and was eventually merged into another carrier, the Air Florida name gone forever. No, you can't run a successful airline these days and have a reputation for being unsafe, and most airline executives are smart enough to know that.

In all, Nance examines a dozen airline tragedies. He's put muscle and blood in the telling—gripping tales of errant judgment, bull-headed wrongness, and human frailty. Great reading. But here's the kicker again. All but two of the accidents occurred *before* deregulation: regulated airlines, regulated markets, regulated safety—regulated accidents. Yet he offers up the conclusion that deregulation has been bad for safety. How?

Nineteen eighty-five was a bad year in terms of passenger fatalities—the worst ever in worldwide terms. In the United States, it was the second-worst year ever—the worst since 1977, the last year before deregulation. And although these accidents happened too recently to be included in *Blind Trust*, they are pointed to by reviewers and the media in general as convincing proof that Nance's thesis is correct—that deregulation, despite its financial success, is bad for safety.

Even the most casual look at the facts debunks this nonsense.

- The Japan Air Lines 747 that crashed in history's worst single-plane disaster was operating in Japan in a completely regulated environment—and JAL is one-third owned by and 100 percent under the aegis of the Japanese government. (The Japanese are now privatizing JAL, in part because after the crash they concluded that a privately owned, for-profit carrier would be safer.)
- The Air India jet that crashed off Ireland was operating on a completely regulated route for a state-owned airline.
- The Delta L-1011 that crashed on approach to Dallas-Fort Worth airport encountered a windshear that the unsus-

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pecting pilot was unable to fly out of. In our system, weather forecasts and windshear alerts are the responsibility of the National Weather Service and the Federal Aviation Administration—government agencies. (In the past, the FAA has lagged in applying available technology to airborne collision-avoidance systems, instrument-landing systems, communications, and so on. The same is true of windshear-detection technology. What's available now won't be in place for years.)

These three accidents account for the overwhelming majority of fatalities in 1985, and not one had the least thing to do with deregulation.

Don't misunderstand. Despite a failure of thesis, Nance has written a valuable book. In a revelation that can only be called astounding, Nance reports that Sen. Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson, often known as "the Senator from Boeing," personally pressured an accident investigator to back away from an area of inquiry that was going to prove embarrassing for Boeing. Nance also spends a lot of time throwing rocks at the FAA, and he hits his target convincingly, revealing the FAA for the awkward, backward, understaffed, overwhelmed, politically manipulated behemoth it is—one White House staffer called it the "slowest bureaucracy in the government."

Nance thus unwittingly makes a case against his own conclusion. Despite market forces that work to keep airline travel safe, some disinterested party, believes Nance, should be minding the store. Someone should be certifying that upstart carriers have the skills and management philosophy necessary to operate safely and to ensure that well-established carriers don't become lax. In our system, that someone is the FAA, but according to Nance himself, the FAA isn't doing the job. In this whole deregulation-versus-safety controversy, one brute fact stands out: safety is still regulated by the feds. If there have been carriers flying around that shouldn't be, and Nance argues convincingly that there have been (both pre- and post-deregulation), then that's the FAA's fault. And that, folks, is a failure of regulation, not of the marketplace.

John Doherty is an airline pilot who writes frequently on air-safety issues for REASON.

The Progressive Transformation of Democracy

By Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr.

The Workshop of Democracy (The American Experiment, Volume Two), by James MacGregor Burns, New York: Knopf, 674 pages, $24.95

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once suggested to a learned audience that "your business as thinkers is to make plainer the way from something to the whole of things; to show the rational connection between your fact and the frame of the universe." James MacGregor Burns is, indeed, one of a select company who strives to achieve this goal. In his biographies of Franklin D. Roosevelt, of John and Edward Kennedy, as well as in his works on American government, Professor Burns reaches a wide audience among both scholars and the general public. From his extensive sources, he is not afraid to draw conclusions or offer interpretations. In other words, he assumes responsibility for, and tries to help his readers understand, "the whole of things."

His latest book, *The Workshop of Democracy*, which treats the period from the Civil War to the onset of the New Deal, is the second volume of a projected trilogy designed to tell the story of what he calls "the American experiment." Only a very few historians since George Bancroft, over a century ago, have had the courage and talents single-handedly to attempt large-scale, detailed, scholarly histories of significant portions of the American past. The literature and sources are simply too vast if one is to try to satisfy both the scrutiny of scholars and the general reader's taste for an exciting narrative. Back in 1927 Charles and Mary Beard's best-selling *Rise of American Civilization* set a high standard as a synthesis of American political and cultural history. More recently in 1965, Samuel Eliot Morison in his *Oxford History of the American People* offered a more conventional account that is, however, comparable in scope to the works of the Beards and Burns.

Like his distinguished predecessors, Burns hopes to attract a popular audience, while still not forfeiting the respect

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— Judge Hand in Helvering v. Gregory 69 F 2d. 810 (1934)

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of his colleagues in academia. The latter will be quick to point out that there is little that is really new in Burns's book, but he is not, after all, writing a monograph to exploit previously unknown sources. And, unlike the Beards and Morison, he does provide full citations of relevant secondary works. From these he distills a fascinating body of richly detailed vignettes to illustrate his narrative. Combining a broadly chronological with a topical approach, Burns is able to keep the story straight with a minimum of flashbacks. If his prose does not convey that overpowering sense of the sweep of the material forces behind American civilization that made the Beards' *Rise* so exciting, it is still admirably clear and never dull.

Burns's governing interpretation is his faith that the people, working through the agency of a strong government, can achieve social democracy. This, of course, is the New Deal's progressivist positivism refurbished under the contemporary rubrics of the welfare state and the imperial presidency. The criticism of the Jeffersonian ideal of limited government that Burns affirmed in his first volume he now develops more fully.

The Civil War and subsequent Reconstruction of the South offered the first great opportunity for positive government in the United States. After 1865, Republican Party leaders had the signal advantage that "they could proceed without constitutional restraints to a degree not possible since the founding days." To Burns, the critical failure of Reconstruction lay in the realm of leadership—the lack of a president strong enough to persuade the country to carry out a strategy for transforming Southern society. Such a revolutionary policy, Burns admits, "would have imposed heavy intellectual, economic, and psychological burdens on the North as well."

The real revolution, in what Burns calls "the business of democracy," came through the tremendous expansion in agriculture and industry, in the restructuring of social classes, in the economic opportunities afforded the teeming masses of European immigrants, and in the ideas associated with Social Darwinism. "The bitch-goddess success" is Burns's pejorative term. America was indeed being transformed by the new economic forces symbolized in figures such as John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie. Yet American capitalism, though it was on the whole a popular success, was never free from attack by native American radicals and Marxist socialists.

Although the author's sympathies clearly lie with the critics of big business, he also notes the views of staunch individualists such as William Graham Sumner, E. L. Godkin, and Henry George, who feared the threat of government paternalism. Burns does not, however, attend to the argument that much of what passed for laissez faire in late-19th-century America was actually government interventionism in behalf of various special economic interests. A consistent policy of laissez faire, or government hands off, was never tried. Instead, after the 1890s, the tendency was all in the direction of a greater concentration and centralization of political and economic power in the federal government. "Progressive" democracy thus laid the foundation for an ever-increasing nationalism or statism. Curiously, Burns barely mentions the fiscal centerpiece of the so-called Progressive reforms—the federal income tax.

More than anyone else, probably, Theodore Roosevelt aroused public support for the modern American

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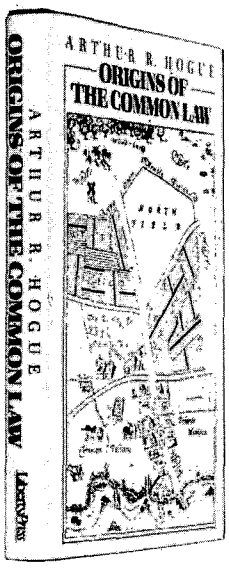

ORIGINS OF THE COMMON LAW

By Arthur R. Hogue

First published in 1966 by Indiana University Press Arthur R. Hogue's *Origins of the Common Law* looks at the deep medieval roots of our legal system during the early formative period of the common law. Between 1154 and 1307, from the reign of Henry II to that of Edward I, common law experienced a spectacular growth as a legal system enforced in the English Royal Courts. Paraphrasing Professor Hogue: in the form of writs, judicial decisions, treatises, royal ordinances, and parliamentary statutes, the common law, in large part the definition of established customs, emerged into explicit written form and formal procedure to order better such ordinary relationships among Englishmen as those between landlord and tenant, merchant and money lender, and buyer and seller.

In his final chapter, "From Medieval Law to Modern Law," Hogue concludes, "The rule of law, the development of law by means of judicial precedents, the use of the jury to determine the material facts of a case, and the definition of numerous causes of action—these form the principal and valuable legacy of the medieval law to the modern law." And one might add, to the growth of the concept of liberty as well.

This thoughtful, lucid account is a work of history, not a technical legal treatise, and should be of interest to the general reader and the specialist alike.

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welfare-warfare state and its imperial presidency. A conservative operating as a progressive, Roosevelt, in Burns's sparkling description, reflected the "contradictions and contrarieties" of his America. "He talked peace but carried a gun on any plausible occasion. He loved animals but slaughtered them....He believed in liberty but of the 'orderly' type. He believed in equality but only with people he respected....If the 'best classes' did not reproduce themselves, he said, the 'nation will of course go down....' Thus he favored sterilizing the criminal and the feeble-minded. He viewed the yellow and black peoples as backward and ignorant. Yet he did not embrace Social Darwinist dogma consistently, and increasingly he saw the state as protecting people, without 'paternalism.' "

For Roosevelt, the answer to the country's needs was, of course, "the executive branch, the presidency, or really himself." The presidency, in his view, was the only means of curbing corruption in government and the forces of big business and corporate power. Yet he knew that, as Burns writes, "some of the great moments of American history had seen 'liberty-loving' legislators and citizens pitted against governors and Presidents." Roosevelt did not have the excuse of a civil war, but more than any president since Lincoln he exploited the constitutional and extraconstitutional authority of his position to entwine progressivism and reform with nationalism and statism.

Burns's interpretation of Woodrow Wilson's presidency as an era in which democracy was on trial repeats the wartime president's mistake of identifying American democracy with the lost cause of the Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I. Burns also follows conventional wisdom, or historical hindsight, in his harsh view of the 1920s—"the age of Mellon." If this caption is appropriate, and not hyperbole, Burns should at least credit the Republican secretary of the Treasury's accomplishment in reducing taxes and cutting in half the national debt. This was no mean achievement despite the criticism that Mellon's tax plan unduly favored the rich.

Also questionable is the way Burns makes it appear that the war and postwar violations of American civil liberties took place in the '20s. The Red Scare, after all, occurred in 1919 in the Wilson administration. And it was Republican President Warren Harding, as Burns notes, who magnanimously pardoned the Socialist leader Eugene Debs after his wartime conviction under the Sedition Act of 1918.

In Burns's view, "the prime intellectual issue still facing the American people in the 1920s" was the conflict of "a rapidly centralizing system of corporate capitalism with an old-fashioned divided constitutional system." It is hard, however, to accept his conclusion that the American government had become enfeebled by the system of checks and balances or separation of powers envisaged by the Founding Fathers. Like Tocqueville a century earlier, such reigning journalists in the '20s as H.L. Mencken and Walter Lippmann feared less the government's supposed weakness than its immense power to overawe the individual citizen. In a world too complex and too remote for the mass of the people to understand, public opinion was constantly being manipulated.

Democracy in the United States was, in fact, a noble historical achievement. It is still also, in the words of the author's overall title, "the American experiment."

Arthur A. Ekirch is a history professor at the State University of New York at Albany and the author of The Decline of American Liberalism.

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A Woman's Place Is. . .?

By Elizabeth Whelan

***A Mother's Work*, by Deborah Fallows**
Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 243 pages, $16.95

Deborah Fallows strongly believes that mothers—professionally trained in careers or not—should stay home and take care of their children. And in *A Mother's Work* she strongly argues the case that only a parent, not a parent surrogate or a day-care arrangement, can serve the needs of a young child.

This initial description of Fallows's views might lead one to assume that she is a traditional, "nonliberated," wife and mother who disdains the women's movement and despairs over the dramatic rise in the percentage of mothers of young children entering the work force. But this is not the case. Fallows, a 1967 Radcliffe graduate, firmly supports the growth in opportunities now open to women. Prior to the birth of her second child she derived great satisfaction from her professional work (she was an assistant dean at Georgetown University—a full-time job), done in conjunction with motherhood. Like many of us who were in college when Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* was first published, Fallows always assumed that we would have it all—husband, children, and a fulfilling career. We were a generation of superwomen with all doors now open to us. So why not?

After all, the women's magazines made it seem easy. Only an incompetent would have trouble with this juggling act—and only a dull, introvertish boob would want to stay at home with the kids and TV all day when the "real world" out there beckoned us to greatness. The details and logistics of how we were somehow going to merge our mothers' nurturing role and our career goals were always vague. Before my daughter was born I remember puzzling over a *Ms.* magazine cover that showed women in an office, intensely preparing manuscripts, while babies crawled over desks playing with pens and papers. I was curious about how that worked—but I believed it must be possible.

Fallows was similarly gullible. With her first son, she worked and left her child in the care of someone else. She suffered the same emotional strains every working mother does—worrying about the quality of home care, regretting missing out on the precious, never-to-be-repeated moments of child development. But as I and so many others did, she clutched passionately to the basic ideological cornerstone of the Working Mother Rationale—*quality* versus *quantity* time. The rationale goes something like this: Sure, moms who stay at home have more *hours* with their children, but quantity really doesn't count, quality does.

Fallows presents the most-convincing evidence I have ever seen that unless superior surrogate arrangements can be made, mothers should stay at home with their children.

But Fallows began to see fallacies in this rationale. And here, I must confess, her book made me nervous. I began to suffer from a classic case of cognitive dissonance when I gradually realized that she would make a decision to abandon her career in favor of full-time motherhood. Not only that, she was about to preach to me about it. Having *not* made that decision myself, I started to feel uneasy as I found the foundations behind my own choice challenged, and successfully so. But reassuring myself that different solutions meet the needs of different people, I read on.

Fallows presents a generally convincing case for the conclusion that only a parent understands and really cares about the needs of a child. (I would argue that there *are* some unique situations where a grandmother or loving nanny who is truly devoted to the child can develop an attachment very similar to that of a parent.) She bitterly criticizes feminist leaders and publications that disdain full-time motherhood, and she successfully defrocks those who pontificate to the effect that only that time spent 100 percent with the child (reading, down on the floor playing with blocks, feeding, etc.) counts as quality time. She argues that the only way surveys can possibly conclude that working and nonworking mothers have the same amount of "time" with their children is by claiming that nonexclusive time together (shopping, doing laundry, driving around accomplishing chores) doesn't count at all. It sure does, she argues. "What I needed (with my children) is time. . .in quantity, not quality."

With the birth of her second child, Fallows became a full-time mother. To her surprise, she found it in many ways even more rewarding than her professional career. A substantial portion of the first third of *A Mother's Work* reveals her comfortable transition. She is to be forgiven for the quasi-polemics that inevitably emerge as she reinforces for herself the correctness of her own decision.

But then the book takes a strange turn. What started as a personal discussion of her rationale for abandoning a career in favor of children suddenly becomes almost an investigative report on the quality and desirability of child care, particularly American day-care centers in the '80s. And while this perplexing change of gears still puzzles me, I found Fallows's survey of day-care centers revealing and very, very upsetting. She presents the most-convincing evidence I have ever seen that unless superior surrogate arrangements can be made, mothers should stay at home with their children. (Am I really saying this?)

I never thought a lot about group day-care arrangements. What Fallows described made me cry with pity for the young children she observed. As she reiterates throughout the book, all the "women's liberation" and "superwoman" talk in the past decade seems to have focused on the needs of the woman, not the child. No, she doesn't write about dingy, dirty conditions, with sexual abuse in evidence. She writes of seeing babies, toddlers, crying for their mothers; teachers who referred to each

CHARLTON HESTON *narrates*

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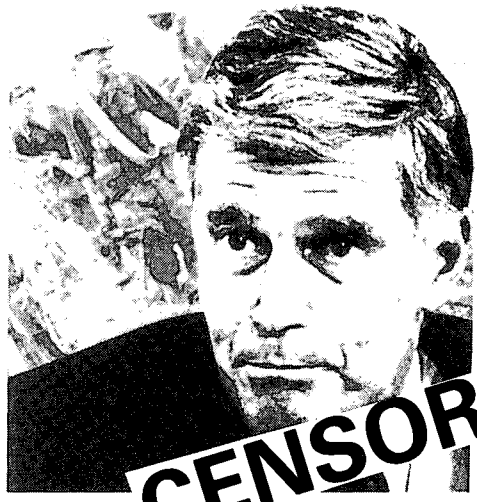

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of them, not by their name, but with a generic "hey"; desperate notes from mothers pinned on babies' cubbies pleading for extra attention; teachers reading stories that obviously made no sense to young children. No abuse. Just emptiness, no individualization, no one really caring. Her recollections of repeatedly hearing, "Mommy coming? Mommy coming back soon?" still ring in my ears.

And then the book takes another bizarre turn. Having totally drained me emotionally, leaving me a forever firm believer that babies and young children should *not* be put in these anonymous group shelters under *any* conditions, Fallows describes at length how day-care remains necessary. She argues that increased funding (both from the private sector and from the government) is mandatory and that unique approaches (like recruiting senior citizens to participate in child care) are the means of increasing the quality of this care. Higher salaries, a better teacher-to-child ratio, and more regulations constitute the Fallows recipe for creating acceptable nonparent child-rearing facilities. But can all the funding in the world overcome what Fallows so convincingly shows to be the problem—the absence of the parent?

Fallows does an excellent job of critiquing the political right (which too often dismisses the real need of some mothers to work) and the left (as represented in the women's movement that will tolerate no criticism of day care; for example, taking offense at the American Medical Association's warning that day-care centers have become dangerous sources of infection and disease). And she has raised much-needed questions about how our society is to successfully mesh the quest for equal employment opportunity for women *and* our desire to give our children what Fallows says they need most: their parents' time as well as love. She writes, "Parents, as the unique and special people in their children's lives, need to spend as much time as possible with their children. By this, I do not mean that parents should spend twenty-four hours a day with children. But I mean most of the time. It seems to me that a good babysitter for a few hours a day, a few days a week, is reasonable even for infants . . . but I also believe that children do best when they have parents available after school most days."

How does this jive with the Superwoman Syndrome? How can day-care facilities provide this uniqueness? Why is it that nowadays so many of us feel we can have everything—at no cost to ourselves and our families? Are we the victims of a type of "liberation" that told us only half the story? In the end, *A Mother's Work* leaves us frustrated in grappling with these threatening but real questions. But at the very least, she does us all a service by raising them.

Elizabeth M. Whelan, executive director of the American Council on Science and Health, is a contributing editor of American Baby *magazine and the author of* A Baby? Maybe *and* The Pregnancy Experience.

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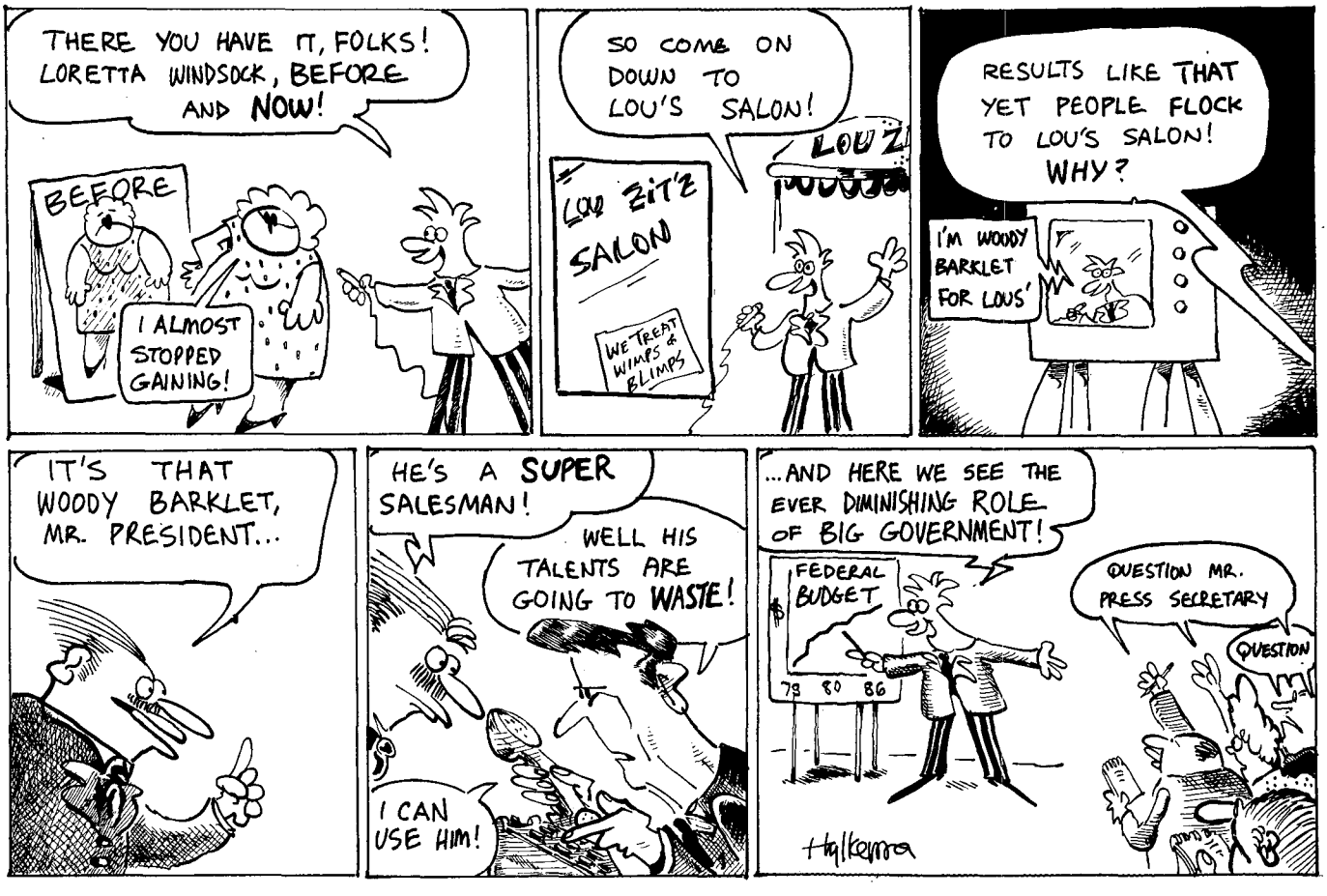
Randall K. Hylkema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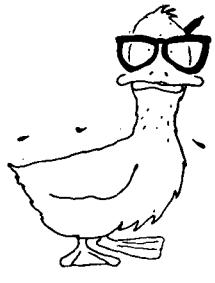


By Joseph P. Martino

Scuttle the Shuttle

The loss of the shuttle *Challenger* has forcefully reminded us of the sheer fragility of the US space enterprise. The shuttle is still an experimental craft. A NASA shuttle flight from Canaveral to orbit is not yet as routine as an Eastern shuttle flight from Boston to Washington.

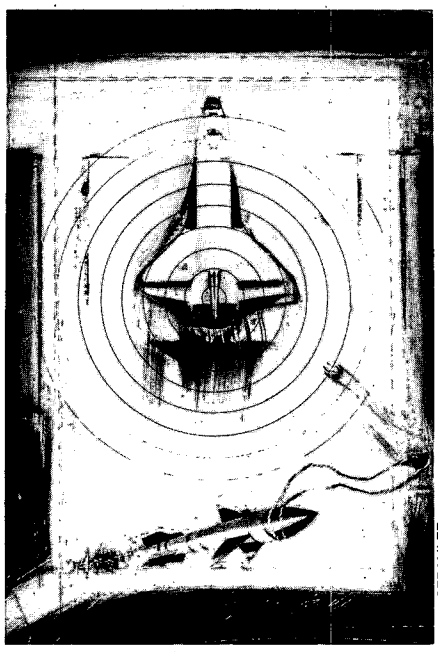
The loss of the *Challenger* has also reminded us of the narrow base of the US space enterprise. Virtually everything we put into orbit is carried by the shuttle. It was only with the greatest reluctance that Congress and the administration agreed to purchase a handful of "expendable launch vehicles" (ELVs) for the Department of Defense, to allow defense satellites to be launched independent of the shuttle.

All commercial satellites launched for US firms go either by the shuttle or by the *Ariane*, a French-designed ELV which competes with the shuttle. All experiments demanding in-space conditions such as zero gravity must go by shuttle. No currently available ELV is capable of handling large-scale experiments or manned experiments.

This means that commercial launches face a serious crunch over the next decade or so. Not only is the shuttle fleet cut to three-fourths of its expected size, but Department of Defense payloads, which have priority over everything else, will take a bigger fraction of what is left.

The "space lobby" is already at work. This consists of the aerospace firms which build the shuttle and its components, the professional societies of aerospace engineers, and the faculty of aerospace-engineering departments at our major universities. They are trying to persuade Congress and the administration to fund a replacement shuttle. The earlier cry for a "fifth orbiter" has now become a cry for a "fourth orbiter." Or, alternatively, they are asking for an immediate start on a second-generation shuttle.

It's easy to understand why the space lobby wants another shuttle—it's simply more business for them. It's the other space lobby—individuals who join the L-5 Society and the Planetary Society and who have The Dream of going into space themselves—whose members should take a second look before cranking up a lobbying campaign. They have to recognize that although the shuttle is a technical marvel, it's not the solution but part of the problem. It's not the road to space but a choke point on the road to space.



GWYN STRAMLER

The clue is the reaction of the administration and Congress to the idea of another shuttle. They say that in a time of $200-billion deficits and of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-reduction measures, we can't afford to spend several billion on a replacement for the *Challenger*. Clearly, to Congress and the administration, the shuttle is a money-loser, not a money-maker. If it were making money instead of losing it, they'd be jumping at the chance to "enhance revenue" by building another one.

No one knows how much money is lost on each shuttle flight. Revenues for a full shuttle bay come to about $80 million per flight. Estimates of the cost of a flight run as high as $200 million. Different economists, making different assumptions, reach different results. But the exact numbers aren't important. What is important is that each shuttle flight represents a loss to the taxpayers of something like $100 million.

The result is that the amount of traffic to orbit via the shuttle will be limited by the amount of money the government is willing to lose. The loss of the *Challenger* hasn't changed that reality. It has only made it more visible. The existence of *Ariane* doesn't really change things. The Arianespace company loses money on each flight, despite some fancy bookkeeping which shows a paper profit. *Ariane* only widens the choke point a little, it doesn't abolish it.

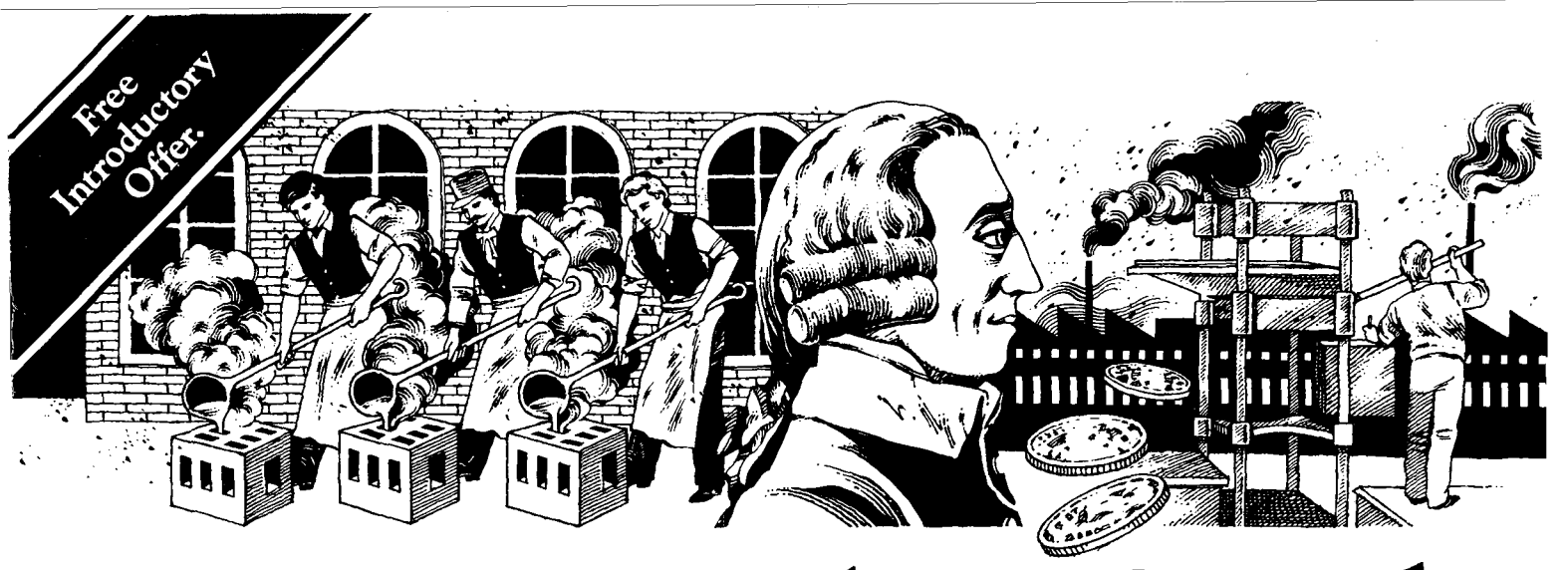
Several firms hope to build privately financed ELVs. They have complained about the subsidies paid to users of the shuttle and have even sued Arianespace (in vain) to end subsidies to *Ariane* users. They say they cannot compete with subsidized launch vehicles.

In the long run, however, the subsidies are irrelevant. If there are profits to be made from payloads in orbit, even after the full costs of launch are paid, the owners of those payloads will be able to afford the price of private ELVs or, ultimately, of privately operated second-generation shuttles.

Private operators have incentives to minimize costs; the space bureaucracy, subsidized from the public treasury, does not. Therefore the prices of private launches will someday be lower than even the subsidized prices of the shuttle and *Ariane*, just as private jitneys can make money while charging lower fares than do subsidized public-transit buses. Building another space shuttle will only delay the day when a flight to orbit is as routine and profitable as an Eastern shuttle flight.

So if you share The Dream, the message is simple: you will achieve that dream sooner if you allow private launch vehicles to smash the choke point. If you don't share The Dream, the message is still simple: you shouldn't be paying for something that hurts instead of helps. In either case, your best move is to oppose a replacement for the *Challenger* and to encourage the development of private launchers.

Joseph Martino is a senior research scientist in the Technology Forecasting Group at the University of Dayton Research Institute.



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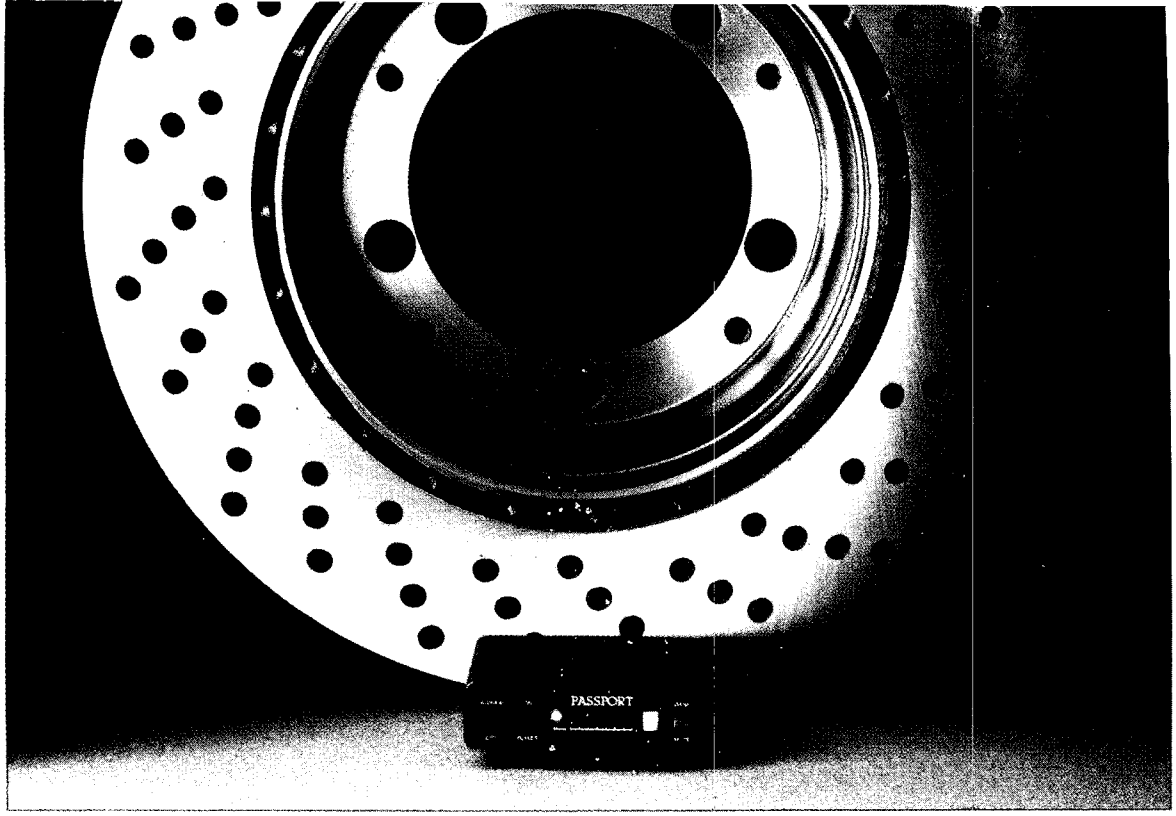

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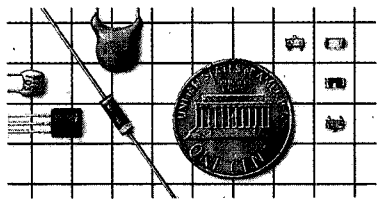

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